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ABSTRACT

How Greek Australian children and their parents feel about the public schools and about their own role in and acceptance by the larger Australian society is the focus of this report. Through liberal quotations from interviews, their feelings about the following areas are presented: (1) the manner in which decisions to leave or remain at school are reached, and the extent of parental influence on such decisions; (2) parents' and children's perceptions of school and teachers; (3) maintenance and continuance of after-school Greek classes, and their possible absorption into the State educational system; (4) parents' and children's evaluation of their current status; and (5) children's attitudes toward the preservation of traditional norms, as taught by the parents. Throughout, comparisons are made with the findings of a 1976 study of the same families. An appendix contains the questionnaires used in interviewing the families and background information about school enrollment. (CMG)

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Greek children at school and after

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Foreword

This book contains a vivid account of 93 Greek boys and girls whom Eva Isaacs was able to interview seven years after she had reported their experiences in her book *Greek children in Sydney*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1976.

Liberal quotations from the follow-up interviews continue to give a depressing picture of the prejudices of schoolmates and teachers and a reciprocal aggressive grouping of Greek children. The discrepancies between parents' and teachers' expectations of the outcomes of schooling are equally thought provoking.

The book leaves to the reader much of the task of interpretation and evaluation of the validity of the responses to questions. The statistical tables are a help in deciding whether an individual response is typical of the children. The author also draws the attention of readers to the possibility that 'the older group in their meetings with others inevitably turned to reminiscence and stressed what appeared in retrospect the more traumatic'. The sympathetic reader will be moved by some of the stories of unhappiness and unthinking cruelty, and critical faculties may well be suspended.

It is important that the information contained in this book should be available to teachers and administrators. The devoted labour which Eva Isaacs has put into amassing the reports of interviews is remarkable and she is skilful in telling the stories in fluent, straightforward prose.

Dr Barbara Falk
Chairman
ERDC Multicultural
Education Priority
Area Advisory Group

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Preface

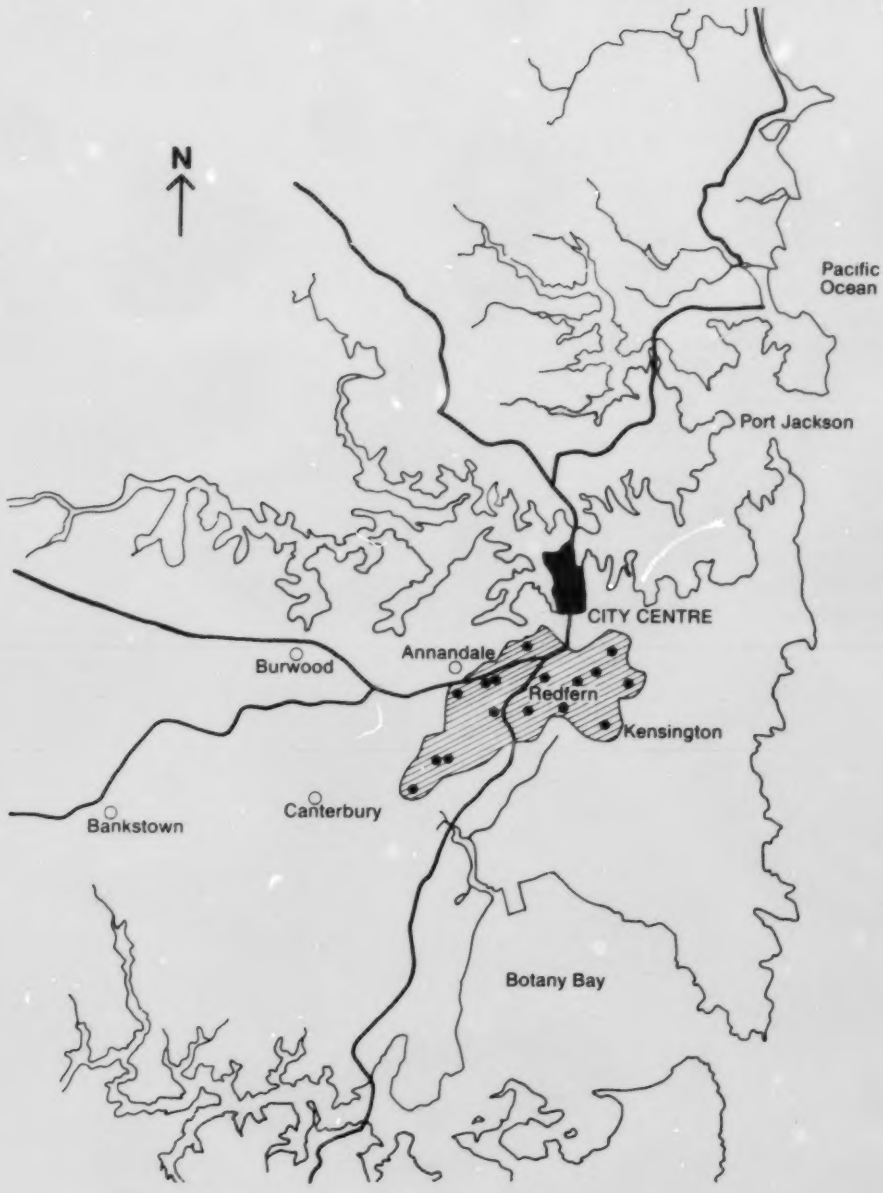
The research on which this report is based was supported financially by the Education Research and Development Committee. It is a follow-up of my book *Greek children in Sydney*, published by the Australian National University Press in Canberra during 1976. The book and the report record the children's and parents' perception of the schools the former attended, the assistance the teachers and peer groups offered and the relationships developed at work and school. I constructed and administered the questionnaires used in the interviews. As the only fieldworker, I alone must take responsibility for the interpretation of the data.

I should like the acknowledge the warmth, generosity and friendship of the participating families, some of whom have graciously included me in their personal celebrations; the assistance of the staff of the library of the University of New South Wales, in particular Rosaline Lam who was at all times helpful and co-operative; the patience of Dorothy Simons who drove me to remote districts of the Western suburbs; and Ian Hogbin for his valuable comments on language and style.

I express my gratitude to the chairman of the Education Research and Development Committee, Mr S. S. Dunn, who at all times supported the project with advice and encouraging words, and to the Committee for its financial assistance.

Professor D. Spearritt gave helpful advice in the early days of the fieldwork. Maria Guiffre typed the final draft. The members of my family, whom I tried so hard not to neglect during the days of the fieldwork and writing, deserve much appreciation and many thanks.

EVA ISAACS


N
Pacific Ocean
Port Jackson
CITY CENTRE
Annandale
Burwood
Redfern
Kensington
Canterbury
Bankstown
Botany Bay
Sydney and environs
Study area
Schools

1. Introduction

Part 1 of this longitudinal study was the subject of my book *Greek children in Sydney* (ANU Press, Canberra, 1976).[1] It consisted of an analysis of a universe[2] of 2645 Greek families who had at the end of 1969 at least one child[3] in one of the 15 inner city State schools. I was employed by the New South Wales Department of Education as District School Counsellor in these schools from January 1963 to August 1969. A random stratified sample[4] of 107 (69 primary and 38 secondary pupils) within two age groups, 9.0–10.11 and 13.0–14.11[5], formed the basis of the argument that I developed under the following headings:

1. The residential cohesiveness of the Greeks
2. Work and housing
3. Leisure and entertainment
4. Contact with Australians and national identification
5. The children at home
6. Education for Australian citizenship

It became clear from the outset that the child was not the focus but the extension of the family, and discussion which omitted the parents seemed inadequate.

The aim of part 1 was

> primarily to present a Greek child speaking about his growing up in Australia within two social institutions: the inner city school and the family. The principal actors in this, therefore, are the parents and the children. Throughout the book they speak with few additional comments, or interpretation; in this way each makes his own personal statement with little interruption by outside explanation. (Isaacs 1976: 6)

This report[6], part 2 of the study, concerns the children seven years later; their number had been reduced to 93. It was inspired by two recurring themes: parents' reiterations that education and occupational advancement of the younger generation had been primary reasons for leaving Greece and that the maintenance and preservation of traditional behavioural norms[7] should be handed on through the offspring to future generations. Some children in part 1 were barely out of Grade 4 and tended to give answers which, though revealing, were suspected to be a reiteration of statements made by parents and relatives in whose company they spent a considerable time. The aim of this study was to investigate:

1. the manner in which decisions to leave or remain at school were reached, and the extent of parental influence;
2. parents' and children's perception of school and teachers;
3. maintenance and continuance of after school Greek classes and their possible absorption into the State education system;

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[1]The study was supported financially by a grant from the then Social Science Research Council, now the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.

[2]This term is used in the statistical sense to denote the aggregate of units. The alternative term 'population' is interchangeable.

[3]'Child'/'children' is used for either males or females—and is relative to 'parent'/'parents'; 'he', 'she', for the personal pronoun: differences, if any, are evident from the text. An alternative is 'pupil', and no other meaning or implication is intended. It is not a term of denigration: it denotes the young persons who were at school in the initial study, and in the follow-up were either in one of the several educational institutions or the workforce.

[4]For the derivation of the sample see Isaacs 1976: 1–17.

[5]See Isaacs 1976: 16 *passim*.

[6]The research for part 2 was financially supported by the Education Research and Development Committee.

[7]Throughout the report I use 'norm' in Bott's (1957: 166) sense 'to reflect people's ideas about what behaviour is right and proper in their social circle'.

4. parents' and children's evaluation of their current status; and
5. children's attitudes to the preservation of traditional norms as taught by the parents.

I have adopted the same method of presentation for this report as for my book and have not attempted to argue from statistical concepts, though I obtained computer assistance for numerical and percentage distributions. I tabulated the results when they indicated trends suggested also by the qualitative data based on the questionnaires constructed for this purpose and administered by me alone[a] as well as on conversations and informal meetings.

[a]See Appendix A.

2. The follow-up study: part 2

I began the fieldwork for the follow-up by calling on the 107 families. I found 37, but experienced delays in tracking down the remainder. Establishing contact with the 37 had its own peculiar difficulties. When I called in the daytime I found no one at home and was forced to return in the evening or at the weekend. Some of the familiar houses had been demolished to make way for express and transit lanes or parks and high-rise buildings. I endeavoured to trace the residents by visiting former neighbours and local shops, consulting motor registries and electoral rolls. I called on schools (with a letter from the Chief, Division of Guidance and Special Education, and the then Director of Education, Central Metropolitan Region) where the children had previously attended to check the year of leaving the primary grades and their secondary school placement. This procedure yielded little, as transfers were frequent.

I recorded earlier a 40–50 per cent mobility in the local Greek school population (Isaacs 1974: 299). Some registers were neither up to date nor complete. At some secondary schools I found that children recorded as having left were still there. One principal was unco-operative and obstructionist, causing embarrassment to the pupil concerned and myself. As I wished to preserve the anonymity of the people, I abandoned the schools as sources of information.

Eleven families who originally came to settle permanently in Australia had returned to Greece. The reasons varied: two indicated stress accompanying early settlement; two, inadequacy of social services for the aged; three, loneliness and distance from kin; and four perceived threat of marrying out. I was unable to locate three families and obtained hints and references from conversations that they had left Australia. All in all, 14 families were thereby excluded.

It took me approximately a year to establish that 93 families had remained in Sydney, as well as one set of parents whose daughter, after failure to matriculate, had gone to Athens where she attends the university. One family came back to Sydney, but during their stay the son was killed in a car accident, and they again left. Another family returned to Greece with the object of marrying the daughter to a man from their region. The father died in 1976, and the mother and 18-year-old son came back to Sydney.

A factor to consider is that five families of those who returned (35.7 per cent) came originally from the island of Kalymnos. This percentage is far in excess of the estimated 20 per cent of those who return[1] in the general immigrant population. It may also mean that the Kalymnians are over-anxious about the maintenance of traditional institutions. 'The Kalymnians have strong ties with one another in Sydney' (Isaacs 1976: 10) and depend to a marked degree on relationships with kin groups or those they elect to be such (Isaacs 1976: 33). The kinship network is the basis of their social life in Australia, and an outsider cannot comprehend the role of such groupings. The inner city Greek finds it difficult to establish deep relationships with the existing substructure in the local Greek community and proceeds to allocate time and effort towards laying foundations for his own and his family's life alliances. In the country of migration it is not an easy task, and much conscious and deliberate effort is

[1]Settler arrivals for 1976–77—70 917; departure of former settlers amounted to 15 447; net settlers—55 460. Departures estimated at 21.8 per cent. Settler arrivals for 1977–78—73 171; departures—13 972; net intake—59 199. Departures estimated at 19.1 per cent. Figures obtained from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, April 1980.

required to keep alive what was mechanistic in the home village. In a complex urban society the field is limited, and many wish to return to the village whence they emigrated. Typical of those Kalymnians who returned is A[2]: he lived in Sydney 25 years:

> I am taking my family to Greece. I looked after my daughter for 17 years. I want her to be well looked after, and in our village we know the families and they know us. (Isaacs 1976: 17)

The families in the follow-up have undergone considerable change: their occupational and welfare histories varied. All but two had homes of their own, and only one man appeared to be happy with the progress he had made towards the goals he had set himself. In part 1 all men and most of the women were in the workforce (Isaacs 1976: 38) and some appeared to hold multiple jobs; recently the men indicated that their work schedules had undergone considerable modification, as they had done their best and were no longer capable of performing strenuous tasks. Most of the women were at home. The majority of men seemed old and fragile, unlike the formerly enthusiastic and energetic group.

[2]All initials throughout are fictitious.

3. School leaving

Financial security, permanency of employment and children's schooling dominated conversation. The parents regarded education as an entry to a well-paid, clean occupation and so to a successful future. The education authorities in New South Wales reinforced this assumption by compulsory school attendance up to 15 years of age. The parents considered this excessive ('If I had that much education', said N, twenty years in Australia, 'I would be Prime Minister') but as they had little education themselves, they valued it and help multiple jobs earlier on to assure the children's school attendance. Of the 107 sets of parents, 50 per cent of fathers and 66 per cent of mothers had had up to four years, and 10 per cent of fathers and 20 per cent of mothers, no school at all (Isaacs 1976: 30).

In the early years of settlement both parents had steady employment, and the children were able to stay at school longer, though in many instances they had to be persuaded or cajoled. The analysis of the earlier data revealed differences in the statements about future goals and school leaving in the older group (the secondary children). No differences were evident in the answers of boys and girls (Isaacs 1976: 104; Table 51).

When, in part 1, I asked the children how they saw their future, most said they were certain of what they wanted to do and the stage they had decided to leave school. They said their goals would be a source of disappointment to their parents at first but not permanently. The discrepancy indicated that the children understood their parents' hopes but were capable of assessing probabilities. Records revealed that at the end of 1969 and in early 1970, of the 38 secondary school pupils, 10 (26.3 per cent) left school at 15, nine to enter the workforce and one, a girl, to marry. These figures differed markedly from the then estimated 5 per cent[1] of the total 15-year-old school leavers in New South Wales. Thus the Greeks left school earlier, seeing no advantage in continuing attendance. It was preferable, they argued, to leave and secure an apprenticeship or any position with advancement possibilities (see Table 3.1).

Of the 21 school leavers (12 boys, nine girls), four said they followed the local patterns. The decision to leave was for most a personal weighing up of opportunities available after remaining, as the parents wished. Two pupils left because their parents wanted them to do so, and one pupil followed his teacher's advice. John, now 20, started his schooling in Opportunity A Class[2], then went to high school, into an ordinary stream. He left at 15 because, he said,

> Teachers just copied from the book onto the board, and it didn't matter whether we copied it or not. We played cards in the lessons, and on Wednesdays our teacher taught us form; he used to send us across the street to put a few shillings on the horse of his choice. The kids did the same, and we used to work out the racing possibilities in class. To describe my schooling, I would like to use words that would not be suitable for your ears—shocking. The high school is supposed to teach more than primary school, but I must say that I learned more in primary. High school was just a waste of time. We had good teachers in the metal and woodwork classes, but that was only common sense. All the things we did at school—sport, P.E.—I was getting nowhere. I stuck it out as long as I could, but I haven't

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[1]This statistic was derived from the 1969 and 1970 total New South Wales enrolment of 15.6–15.11 age groups, i.e. 24 682 and 23 468 respectively. Figures were taken from (a) the *Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1969*, N.S.W. Govt Pr., 1971, and (b) the *Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1970*, N.S.W. Govt Pr., 1971.

[2]See Appendix B.

anything good to say. As far as I am concerned the education system is rotten. The only good thing about it was that I met other Greek kids, and they are still friends. At first I did want to go to university because they kept telling me that I had brains. But I only got to Second Form because the teaching was crap. They were supposed to teach us, but we just played cards, worked on crosswords and puzzles. If they'd improve the system, I'd go back.

Table 3.1: **Children's educational levels reached: part 2**

	m(a)		*f(b)*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Left school at 15	12	12.9	9	9.7
Left school after S.C.(*c*)	4	4.3	9	9.7
Left in Year 11/12	8	8.6	3	3.3
Sat for H.S.C.(*d*): did not matriculate	7	7.5	2	2.2
Matriculated	4	4.3	2	2.2
At present, in secondary school	18	19.4	15	16.1

(*a*) *m*–male; (*b*) *f*–female; (*c*) S.C.–School Certificate; (*d*) H.S.C.–Higher School Certificate

N.B. Inter-sex differences are indicated in tables and text throughout where relevant.

Phoebe, aged 18, said:

For the first three years in high school I was in the lowest class. We were all put in for three years, and we started to complain in Form 1.[1] We got nowhere, so at the end of Form 3 they put us up, but we were so far behind that we had to work hard to catch up. I left because it was too hard, and the school was rotten. The girls used to put Aspros in their Coca-Cola: 'It makes you high and you forget if you have problems', they would say.

Poppy, 17 years old, who left school before the School Certificate, said:

I left because when I asked a question in class the teacher would laugh because I could not speak English very well, or she would give an answer so complicated that I couldn't understand.

George, who was in an Opportunity A class at primary school said:

I didn't do well at school, and so I left school to go to work for a painter. I worked for $3.00 a week, but he said I had too many brains and I should go back to school. When I came back they all remembered me from the dunces class, and the teacher said that I had no right to be in his class. I saw that things haven't changed much. There was this history teacher in Third Form. He didn't look upon me as a friend. The rugby players were his pets. He was a bit of a rugby freak. He treated me badly. I saw this with other nationalities too. Some teachers gave good marks to Australians, even though their written work was real crap, but the migrants were getting less for their efforts. There was no doubt that the Australians were getting all the breaks.

[1]The designation of Forms 1–6 at secondary level was changed in 1976 into a sequential grade year term, beginning at secondary level with Year 7, that is, following Grade 6 in primary school. Years 11 and 12 are final secondary curriculum years. Pupils at times interchanged these two designations (form, year) and these are recorded as spoken.

Helen, aged 16, added:

> I left because the teachers hate the Greek and the Yugoslavs; they mark us low and give more marks to the Australians, and we are marked low because, they say, 'You can't express yourself'. They are always telling us, 'You had better leave school and go to work'.

Spiro, now 18 years old, left school at 15 half-way through Year 9. He commented:

> My mother was in tears when I said I was leaving school, but I stuck it out as long as I could and could not stand it any longer. I was mixing with Australian kids, and I'm not saying Australian kids are bad, but most of them left school at 15. I was picking up the Australian habit like the other kids—drop-outs, jigging school, smoking. When I was 15 I looked 18, so I was always set up as the strong man. When I was younger, I was flattered by this. When my father talked to me, my Australian friends said not to take any notice of the old man.

Of the nine girls who left school at 15, seven have married and are working as part-time shop assistants and clerks, one is an apprentice hairdresser attending technical college and working, and one works in a factory. Of the married ones, Joanna, now 21, with two children, recalled:

> I didn't want to leave school: I wanted to go to college and have some training for a job before I married; but my father would not let me go to college because some girls went to college and got mixed up with boys, any kinds of boys. He quoted his brother, who had influenced him greatly. He was saying, when I wanted to go to the pictures, that he would not allow me to go because he thought I went with boys. He spread tales about me when I was at school. I wanted to go to the library to write an essay and my father would not allow me to go.

Some left because they knew that even if they continued beyond the School Certificate the final decision would rest with their parents, whose aim was the conversion of education into a marriage deal. Some of the girls left because they wanted to go to work. Twenty-two-year-old Sophie, now married with two children, said: 'I left school; I didn't want to go on. I wanted to go to work; everybody I knew was working and I was still in uniform. I was too big and too mature and school didn't mean that much to me'. Phoebe, now 20, married, with three daughters, left in Form 2 and she is barely literate:

> I'd like to have stayed on at school and study. I didn't have the privilege. My marriage was arranged, and I married very young. I wish I could go back now and go on, but I can't; I have to go to work and help bring up my family.

It appears, too, that some parents, though encouraging their children to remain at school, constantly refer to their own workload, expense and sacrifice.[4] When I reminded the parents of what they had said earlier in 1970 and how no effort was regarded as too high, their answer was, 'We were different then'. Commenting on this, 18-year-old George said:

> I wanted to work in Dad's shop ever since I was five years old. My dad always told me to study and study, but I knew that even if I finished school I'd end up working in the shop so I left school at 15. My parents wanted me to stay on and my mother cried when I left school, but I knew I could not do the two. They would still want me to work in the shop as well as attend school. They kept on telling me how tired they were.

George's parents owned two shops in the district, one cared for by the father, the other by the mother. When George and his brother returned home from school they took over and worked until 6.30 p.m. while the parents rested. The latter resumed later and kept the place open, often until after midnight. George, reflecting on his present job, said:

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[4]Taft et al. (1971: 51) referred to the probability that the parents had done their best and could not face the financial burden; that parents, in over-extending themselves financially in order to keep their son at school until Form 6, could no longer support him.

I am realistic: even if I did go on at school—and I wanted to—I'd end up in the shop. The whole family went to Greece in 1974 and stayed there for two years. When I came back all my mates were in form 4. I enrolled but could not catch up. I tried and then realised that even if I got my School Certificate I'd have the same job as I have now. I am a storeman, leading to a rep.-in-charge-of-stores, of coffee and restaurant equipment. I have a long way to travel to work, and by the time I get home the shop is closed. The only stint I do is at weekends when I am at home.

Thirteen children left after obtaining the School Certificate; 12 boys and seven girls returned, hoping to 'sit it out' until the end of secondary schooling. Some of those, like, Con, now 22, recalled:

I wanted to leave Fourth form, but Mum and Dad insisted on me continuing. Dad gives me this advice. He wants me to go to university. I always thought I could become anything I wanted without it. Besides, listening to people does not attract me very much. I left school at 17 in Form 5. I did a course in cybernetics and worked as a sales rep. in a private institution. Actually, I could have been persuaded to stay on but left mainly because the principal was a real dictator, and many kids were leaving at a fast rate. When I left, I worked at a bank but soon saw my chances when I went in to see the manager. He was about 55 years old. I thought to myself I can't wait that long to be sitting in his chair. I figured I could have done his job more quickly and better than he, even now. So I left the bank and joined a grocery distribution firm. I have been with them two years and I manage my section.

Ambrosios, now 19, said:

I got nowhere at school. I saw my father wasn't getting such good jobs any more, so I got apprenticed to my uncle and am doing a tech. course.

Of the 13 who left after the School Certificate (four males, nine females), three boys are pursuing a technical college course and six girls are working as secretaries. Peter, now 22, stated:

There were teachers who cared, but most of them did not. I saw it was hopeless to go on. I stuck it out until the School Certificate and then enrolled at tech. I don't regret it.

Michael, now 22, repeated Form 6. He said:

I intended to be an engineer but did not matriculate. I failed English twice. There was this Greek guy at school doing well in English but he could not write assignments or reports in Science and got another kid to write them for him. I would not stoop to this. I want to do a degree course. I have enrolled to do a full-time matriculation course at the Institute of Technology. At first I worked for an insurance company at night and of course failed at the Institute. So now I am doing the matriculation full time at tech.

Bill is typical of those who returned to school after obtaining the School Certificate but left in Year 12 before the final secondary examination. He commented:

I repeated Year 11. I wanted to do music. I could not do it at my school. There weren't enough boys to make a class, so I had to take French and Ancient History. I thought the following year would be different. I came back to school and just waited for the time to pass. The following year it was no different. I was a year older and my father made me stay at school. He hoped I would remain until the Higher School Certificate. School wasn't for me. I hated it. The same with my brother, but we never told Father what went on at school because he said we used these stories as an excuse for not going. I don't regret leaving school. There was just nothing that would make me study. I got a position in a bank. I stayed there three years. I was an accountant's clerk and carried cheques from one end of Sydney to the other—a dead-end job. I was glad to be sacked. I am now in an office and cannot progress because of my lack of academic qualifications. If I want to get on I would have to go back to get the Higher School Certificate. I tried to get into a bank. I did not get into the Commonwealth Bank and when I got through the test for the Bank of New South Wales, I failed the medical. They told me I smoked too much. Whatever job I applied for I needed more study. But I need to push myself. I do part-time work and have joined a band

and we play at Greek clubs, mostly in support of the Labor Party, dances and weddings. That is where I'll stay, I think.

Andy, 22 years old, works full time. He wanted to leave in Form 4, but, as he said,

> I stayed on because of Mum and Dad. Father wanted me to go to university: 'You can become anything you want', he used to say. He gave me advice which I weighed up, but I soon realised that I could get places without school. I got into a bank and it was for as long as I wanted to. They could have put me anywhere and I did not mind that. I was working in the bank and at the same time had another job as a confectionery distributor at nights and weekends. I left the bank because promotion was slow. I did a course in psychology of sales. I got my first job through a friend of mine in the electrical department in a large store and after two years with them I am well on the way to be in charge of my department.

Of the 19 boys and seven girls who remained at school after School Certificate, seven boys and three girls failed to matriculate; three boys repeated Year 12 and, though their results had improved slightly, did not qualify for university entry. Tom, now 22 years old, was advised on levels and requirements for his university course, and though he passed at these levels, did not matriculate. He stated:

> I topped the class in English in the school tests. My teacher advised me to do level 2. When I went to the head of the English Department she gave me a lecture about not changing levels, 'because what counts is marks, not levels', she said. I thought that was logical enough; I did not change, but when I saw the results I knew she had advised me wrongly. I wanted to do accountancy, and that is why I repeated Form 6, but I did not matriculate. My father, a cleaner at a bank in town, took me to see the manager, and after much talk I was given a job. I understood I would be working in accounts and do some more study, but so far, after two years, it is not forthcoming. What I am doing now is far from what I want to do, but they keep on saying at the bank that lack and turnover of staff made them put me and keep me where I am.

Of the six matriculants (four boys, two girls), one male 'bombed out' after first term at the university, for he 'couldn't cope'. John, now 21 years old and in his final year in the School of Education, said:

> I always wanted to be a teacher, and I will be. In my practice teaching, one day a week, in a school where there were a lot of Greeks, which gave me a great deal of satisfaction, I came into the staffroom. There I observed the resident teachers, who let me know I was a substandard colleague not enjoying parity of status, though I was in the same room with them and training to be a colleague. One of them would raise a point about migrants, at times specifically Greeks. I then realised how much isolation there is and how deep the lack of knowledge amongst teachers. They seem to know only those who show interest in the school or who are disruptive. Most Greeks or other ethnic groups do not lack interest but they do not display their zeal simply because they don't know how to show their interest. If they do, they are accused of sucking up to the teacher, who regards this as complete self-centredness and says that the Greeks are only interested in the Greeks. They understand little of the problems of a Greek boy growing up in the local school—for example, boy-girl relations—where they can be of such help. Here one needs a personalised approach, a real interest, because the Greek parents insist on so many different things, so unlike those of the Australians. It is not much different at the university. School prepares you so little for it, and my first year there was a complete write-off. At school I was a bit of a personality boy. I had no problems with my identity. When I got to the university my biggest problem was how to relate to the academics, and most of all the kids were so different from those at school. I should have gone out to work before going to university; I just entered a completely strange environment and did not know what to do though somehow I knew what I was doing was wrong. I knew how to behave. At home my parents were strict—at school everything was free; we weren't in awe of the teachers; we used expressions freely, but there were neat lines of conduct laid down, and it was easy. I had my friends at school and I was quite happy. When I got to the university I felt isolated; I was not prepared for the discussions, for the ease of communication.

Joanna, now 21 years old, reported:

> We had so many Greeks and other nationalities at school. They did not have enough teachers to cope with us. We had work to do, and most of the Greek girls have been stuck in the GA[1] class, and if it weren't for some of the staff we would have been left there. In the lessons the girls just talked. When we got to Fifth Form I was elected prefect and saw bashings in the playground but could do nothing. That was commonplace. At university I met a different type of kid—one I never met before. When I spoke to these kids I found they were from some private schools. Their training was different, their speech was different, easier, while I stumbled when I wanted to express myself.

Most of those who left saw the school's failure to provide general information on subjects and career choices, and also the lack of relevance of the compulsory subjects, as contributing factors to their failure. The statements were vehement, and I decided to give all pupils, past and present, an opportunity to assess the above on a three-point scale (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: **Availability of information concerning subjects and career choices; subject relevance to future goals**

	Availability of information		*Subject relevance*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Good	—	—	—	—
Limited	79	84.9	40	43.0
Unsatisfactory	14	15.1	53	57.0

The 33 secondary school pupils (18 boys and 15 girls) hoped to enter university, but with one or two exceptions were convinced that they would not succeed. The interesting phenomenon is the incidence of girls continuing at school: nine girls as against four boys reached the School Certificate, and 10 girls as against seven boys are at present in final year.

In parts 1 and 2, I noted a marked difference in the school-leaving and staying-at-school patterns. Of the 21 children (12 boys, nine girls) who left school at 15, nine (eight boys, one girl) were of the early secondary group, and of the 13 School Certificate holders two girls were of that sample. I recorded no boys in that category. In part 2, four boys left at 15 years of age. Four boys and seven girls of this group obtained the School Certificate. Some now appear to support my argument that when the parents were saying earlier that they wanted their son or daughter to be a doctor or a lawyer, they were really expressing a fear that their children might end up in an unskilled labourer's job. They could not understand that the difficulties the children were encountering might not be the result of lack of application or motivation, but a feature inherent in the local educational and social systems. The children who are motivated and whose application is unquestionable recall the parental urgings and admonitions. Joseph, now 22, says:

> We are conditioned by our parents, because as soon as we are able to understand, the question is put to us, 'What do you want to be?' The reply is, naturally 'A doctor'. Everybody I visited, I remember, when I was 9 years old, questioned me and rubbed it in.

[1]See Appendix B.

> Because they have missed education, our parents want their children to have it. Because the higher the standard of education the children reach, the more it reflects on them—their children's education add pride to their life.

The pupils' natural resilience, supported by the faith of parents and kin, and the belief that 'they can make it' contribute to their continued efforts, though fulfilment may mean in many instances a deferment for some years.

4. Parents' and children's perception of schooling

> When I first came to the infants school, I was six years old, and I had just arrived in Australia. It was so terrible and strange, I ran away. I might have been young, but I could sense something hostile. They caught me and put me into the principal's room. I thought I was in prison because one of the windows had a bar on it. I smashed the window, and they called in my father. My father beat the daylights out of me. He said nothing. The following day my father, humbled, took me back to school and apologised to the principal. I remember it was not the school or the teachers who taught me how to behave because they were always punishing me. It was my father who kept on talking of the Greek ways and the differences between us and the Australians and that we must be good and obey. Never were the differences obscured. But throughout my schooling I saw no attempt ever made by any of my teachers to learn something about me or to ask me if we felt uncertainty or strangeness around us.

The above were the words of Con, now 22 years old, as he recalled his early schooling in Australia.

The school is one major social institution the Greek parent, if he has any young children, shares with Australians, at least up to their fifteenth birthday. This is true of the State school, which draws its pupils from a rigidly defined geographical zone. Immigrant and Australian children from the same neighbourhood attend together. The classroom provides a small-scale version of the dominant society, a community of 30-odd pupils of similar ages in preparation for living in Australia.

Awareness of discrimination

For many Greek children the school is the only place where they have contact with Australian equals. I argue that when the Greek child enrols, his self-perception as a Greek is strengthened by the isolation from the Anglo-Australians. He ostensibly disregards the exclusion and the namecalling, shrugging it off as irrelevant, but he questions it nevertheless, and though he may participate and mix with Australians in the early grades, he usually begins growing away from the Australian community both at school and in the general environment.

Many immigrant children have to work out for themselves aspects the Australians take for granted. The Greek child finds it difficult to grasp the concept of the autonomous individual, one of the main theoretical principles in the Australian education system (this is true, of course, of anyone from a country whose educational principles derive from another model). In the traditional Greek family a man's position as an individual is discounted in favour of the family and the elected kinship group (Isaacs 1976: 33 *et passim*). The Greek child is not helped by mixing with others. In schools containing a high percentage of pupils from non-English-speaking backgrounds, each Greek is usually someone's cousin and automatically joins him or her at play.

Some teachers believe that integration is inevitable and that what they are saying—'I am Australian, they imitate me and what I am doing and so will integrate'—records what will eventuate. Some believe that integration is the result of the sharing of the educational experience and a by-product of the education process and that national multiplicity at school helps to break down antagonism among Australian children. Most teachers maintain that the latter have no prejudice and

refer to the absence at their school of incidents based on national discrimination. These incidents take place, nevertheless. That teachers are unaware of them may well be the result of the pupils' judgment of where and when to be discriminatory and hurtful.

During my earlier fieldwork the children, while reporting discrimination at school, emphasised that the Australians made no deliberate attempt to hurt them. They attributed the name calling and opposition to lack of knowledge about Greeks, and said the only ones guilty were 'kids that get into trouble'.

On the other hand, some said that discrimination meant to hurt, though they mostly referred to that experienced by parents.

Of the 21.5 per cent of parents who were aware of prejudice and have experienced discrimination, Mrs P, here since 1963, said:

> In the early days I cried often. They spat at me many times. They called me dirty, and said that I smelled. When I applied for a job, some of the Australians were very rough. They wanted to make anyone our boss, give us all the very hard work and leave the light work for the Australians.

P, 12 years after his arrival, recalled:

> The first year I was often unhappy. I was called 'dago' by the people I worked with. In some places they wrote in the toilet dirty words like 'Go home wogs, dagos'. The Australian newspapers must teach people; schools must do it.

In the later period the children had a great deal to say about discrimination. Only one referred to, and proferred an example of, a parent's experience. Chris, 18 years old, reported:

> The foreman said to my mother, 'Sweep the rubbish around that woman's machine'. She swept all the rubbish under her own machine and refused to touch that of the other woman. The foreman swept it onto my mother's pile and called her a bloody bitch. She didn't understand what he said but did not tell us about the incident. When I found out what actually happened I went to the factory against my mother's wishes. She doesn't like making trouble. Right through what I was saying the foreman kept laughing. He thought it was a joke, but somehow he realised that I was serious, that I really was offended, that my mother was hurt. He changed his attitude, apologised, but we never forgot it. I myself think that the Australians are more friendly at work, more understanding than they were at school.

My question sought to elicit awareness of discriminatory practices at school, of all children—those still at school, and out of it (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: **Children's awareness of discrimination**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
In primary and junior school	8	8.6	6	6.5
Throughout schooling	8	8.6	8	8.6
Never experienced any	—	—	2	2.2
Not at school now; when at school, often	29	31.2	25	26.8
Not at school now; when at school, never	4	4.3	3	3.2

They still referred to name calling, and assessed mental and physical persecution as deliberately hurtful.

Evidence exists of discrimination by teachers and fellow pupils—subtle and low-keyed, but often practised. Of those who are still at school, John, 18 years of age, stated: 'There are incidents when kids call you wog, and I call them wog too, but there is not so much of that in the senior school. They have more sense, and if they go on like that, we bash them up'. Eighteen-year-old Joanna, in Year 12, said:

> Our school turned co-ed., and there was this boy who walked past me in the playground and quietly called me wog. I went up to him and said, 'Did you call me wog?' I knocked his glasses off and punched him. Later on in the same week some other kids called me wog, and my brother Nick wrote a letter to the principal. She then announced at assembly that if anyone reported name calling she would take action. No one, of course, reported, but it goes on just the same.

Joanna's sister, 18 years old, who has just left school, recalled:

> When I was at school they called me wog. 'I am just as good a human being as you are', I said. 'I was born in Australia'. So they used to call me a slut, and if I went to the principal, they'd wait for me, and when I came out of the office they'd bash me up. I am not violent, and I really hate fights, but I was so angry that I got hold of her and tore her dress. She reported me to the principal, but he was on my side. The kids looked up to me after that.

Coula, in Year 12, said: 'The English teacher gave the class a question to answer: "If you were in the room with a dog and an ethnic and you only had food for one, whom would you give the food to?" All the Australians said, "The dog".' Maria, in Year 12, added:

> We subscribe to the *Financial Review* in school and use articles for discussion. In the Economics unit we discussed an article on the advantages of migration, and one of the statements there brought a question from the teacher, 'Have migration groups helped us to develop and enrich our culture?' One Australian supplied an answer, 'We needed the labour so we have to have them, and now they are multiplying'. In the same unit, when we were discussing minorities, there were two Greek girls in the group and it started with one of the Australian girls saying, 'Why should the migrants live in groups, isolated and speaking their own language? Why shouldn't they try and mix?' When the question of poverty and income came up, one of the Australian girls said, 'No, the migrants are not poor; both parents work; the children work. They accumulate lots of cash, buy houses and so on'. It went on like this. I had so many answers, but I couldn't find words to express my disagreement and horror. I was helpless, and I saw that the argument and discussion were irresponsible, but I was not able to present my case properly. I was hurt and unhappy. At the end of the lesson the teacher said, 'I hope there is no ill-feeling. It was only a discussion'. He said nothing else. He didn't make any comment about the general nature of the argument, nor did he say it may not be true of all migrants.

Mary, in Year 12, supplemented these words: 'If we have a discussion on migration, I hate being told that the Greeks have taken over Marrickville'. Con, a pupil in Year 12, commented:

> In General Studies there were always arguments. I'd say 90 per cent of these idiots would disrupt the class by muttering, 'Go back home'. The teacher would say in class, 'Why do the Greek kids work harder than Australians?' They would say, 'They just want to make money and go home'. The teacher said nothing, but as we grew into the senior school, and we saw we got help from no one, we had to think of ways to defend ourselves, but anyway we were so big that they wouldn't touch us. It is incredible what discrimination goes on. 'Hi, wog' is the usual greeting. I wouldn't take that as a friendly gesture. The only kid that never did it was a member of the Communist Party, came from a broken home, lived with his sister—strange kid—but never once did he say anything nasty like that.

Irene, in Year 12, added: 'It's the feeling that you are a second class citizen that gets you. One of the head teachers deliberately didn't encourage the Greek girls to go on.

There were ten of us, I remember, all coming into Form 5, not knowing the subjects or levels, and we just had to take what was given to us without any question'. Androula, in Year 12, stated: 'Once they get to know you, it's O.K., but there is a lot of anti-Greek feeling from those who don't know much. They stick a name to you in junior years. It hurts'. Ambrossios, in Year 12, said: 'I've seen Australian boys hit Greek boys and call them names—those little fat ones in Year 7. I've never experienced it'. Steven, in Year 11, reported: 'I used to resent it early in high school; some of the Australians would pass remarks like "Oily hair, dark complexion".' Jim, Year 12, remarked: 'At school and when on our way home you hear, "Buzz off, wogs".'

Nick, Year 11, said: 'I used to feel teachers discriminating against us, in the lower grades, but now we discriminate against them because we outnumber them'. Angela, Year 12, said: 'There's a lot of it at school, but I disregard it completely. I am lucky it has no effect on me. It doesn't worry me, but it drove some of my friends out of school. They just couldn't stand it'. Chris, Year 11, stated: 'We've moved, and I transferred to the local high school, and, boy, was I called names! Within a couple of months they found who was the better fighter. Some of those guys now at school get drunk every day'. Charles, in Year 12, supplemented: 'The first word you hear from the Australian kids is "wog". They say it to hurt you. Some of the teachers call us "wog" too.'

George, Year 11, added:

> Some of the Australian kids certainly are prejudiced against the Greeks. If a Greek or some other nationality comes first they mumble something. They call us 'poser' and 'show-off'. If I'd say something in defence, I'd be in trouble, but I know I am on top of them. If, in volley-ball, I do something they can't do, they say, 'What's good about that?' or call you 'Superman'. They mean to hurt, and they do this because they realise that they themselves can't achieve it. My ambition was to be in the soccer team in the Australian club, but they let me know they didn't like me, and I was squeezed out. Now I'm in a Greek club . I made the zone team in the area out of thirty schools and they took me off the reserve list. It works this way: we play one game for the State, win three games each team we play. After winning the first game they took me out of the team and put the worst player in. I asked the teacher, 'Am I going in next sir?' He said, 'Yes, wait', and then I waited till the end of the game, and of course I didn't get in.

John, Year 11, stated: 'One kid hit me in the stomach when I came first in cross-country and called me ostrich, but it didn't hurt: I'm strong'. Helen, Year 12, stated:

> When we are in Science, and I'm the only Greek in this group, there is one other girl—when I try to answer a question and I can't explain, she looks at the teacher and laughs at me. The teachers hate the Greeks and Yugoslavs. They mark us low. They give more marks to the Australians because, they say, 'You can't express yourselves', and 'You'd better leave school and go to work'.

Angela, Year 11, commented: 'Even in the playground all foreigners are together on one side, and all Australians sit in a corner and criticise and call you these three-letter words'. Theo, Year 12, added:

> The school is now full of Asians. They're all black belts. One of the Australians accidentally bumped this Asian guy, and the next day he brought his belt and chains and was ready to fight. The Greeks didn't help, and the Australians started to call us 'fucking wog, stupid idiot'. This sort of thing gets under my skin. It's like an irritation trying to provoke me. They keep on throwing things at me, push me from behind to get me started. I can't stand it. Really my blood boils, and I feel like an explosion inside me, and I know I would smash up someone if they came near me. My nerves can't take it any more, but then I calm down. I take great care not to mix with Australians.

Peter, in Year 12, said: 'I was mostly aware of discrimination in primary school, but in high school it is worse because you can see that they don't accept us as part of their society. Sometimes I used to go mad, because I so wanted to be part of them'. John,

Year 11, stated: 'It is also true that the Greeks are sometimes provocative. One person, a Greek boy, says that Greeks are better than Australians, and the fight starts'. Jim, Year 10, added: 'You should have seen the present Year 7. We got our own back at them. We just clobbered them. Then they're scared of us as we were once scared of them'. Helen, Year 11, said: 'My headmistress never tries to understand me. When my sister was hurt I went up to the girl who fought her after school, and we had a fight. The girl took out a knife. I went to the principal and told her about the knife. She stuck up for the Australian'. Mary, Year 11, recalled: 'Teachers give us Greek girls poor marks. It is noticeable. They put us in a D class from the beginning, and I stayed there in First Form. I didn't think about it, but I noticed all these dumb kids around me and told my father, who took me away and put me in a private school. I would have still been in a D class and got nowhere'. Helen, Year 11, remarked: 'The teachers tell us we can't express ourselves; always saying we'd better leave school and go to work. In Form 1 I was pushed around by the Australian girls. They called me wog. About five of them came behind me and pushed me. I was small to begin with, and suddenly I grew tall, and then they didn't do it to me'.

The recollections of those who are no longer at school are in marked contrast to the attitudes in 1970. John, 21 years old, said: 'A girl called me wog at school. "You do it again, and I will show you what will happen to you". She did, and I spat on her'. Nick, aged 22, added: 'They deliberately hurt us. They got a group of their own and would attack us. I met the toughest lot at Redfern. I was afraid at school. They said, "We'll get you after school". They had knives'.

Steven, 21, reported:

> I would say there were two kinds of people at school: civilised and uncivilised. I refused to have anything to do with some Australians, the unreasonable ones, up to Fourth Form, but in Sixth Form these would have been gone, and only about one or two were left in class. Well, they've been with you for six years; they know something about you. I can only attribute the nastiness, the name calling, to jealousy and to the way we accept things. It didn't worry me, as I was proud of my heritage and always will be. I will not use brutal force. I would hit no one. But at times it got to breaking point. A group of true blue Aussies ganging up on the wogs. They usually pick one out, sling abuses at him, and one of them would approach and hit him and wait for retaliation. I was a prefect at school and chased that guy around the park. I could not catch him, and when I called on the teachers they turned a blind eye. If I caught one of them I would beat him up, but even if I did it would have made no difference.

Tom, 21, reminisced:

> They would at first call you a name and provoke you deliberately. I am against fighting. I want to stop a fight. There were many nationalities in our school, and most of the foreign kids were frightened of the Australians. They felt that even the teachers would side with them. So they didn't have the same chances. 'You want to see a match burn twice?', said an Australian kid to me in Fourth Form. He got up close to me with the burning match and burnt me above the lip. You can still see the trace of it. I wanted to get hold of him, but he ran away. I chased him and caught him, dragged him to the principal's office, who had him caned, but the next day the kid was up to the same tricks. The kid told me he would get me after school, but he didn't. My sister will tell you when she was in Sixth Grade she came first, and her best friend, an Australian girl, bashed her.

Peter, 21, said: 'Calling you wog isn't the worst, but a few formed themselves into gangs, picked on us all, and really fought us'. Michael, 22, reported: 'When I was at school I was wogged most of the time. When they said it, I just walked close to them and asked, "What did you say?", and they stopped'. Jim, 22, said: 'There was this kid who came up to me and thumped me; I don't know why. If he only called me a name I'd understand'. Tony, 21, remarked: 'They only do it in junior classes. They show off and regret it later'.

Angela, 22, stated: 'A group of Australian girls came up behind us, and one of them cut a piece of my friend's hair. A teacher on duty saw her with this one piece of hair out, and we got into trouble. I knew it was no use going to the headmistress, so we waited and bashed them up later'. Poppy, 21, said: 'One teacher always used to say wonderful things about the Australian girls and denigrate the Greeks, calling them wogs, and then said, "Sorry", noticing me in class. The only kids who were going on to Form 5 were Greeks, and the teacher said it was probably the Greeks who made the Australians leave or drop out'. Joanna, 17, married, added: 'They hated us and were jealous. We knew more and were better pupils. In the co-ed. class the teacher would ask a question, and a Greek boy would answer. Australian boys called out, "Dirty wog", "big nose". Penny, 18, stated: 'I was spokesman for the Greek girls. In the junior classes we were all in it together. I took no notice of any remarks. Some Australian girls at school used to say, "How do you put up with it?" '. Sophia, 17, said: 'You can sense it. You just know. They call you wog, criticise what you are wearing. They push you from behind in the playground to start you up, tease you, like you to get into a fight. They don't like anyone doing better than they do, or if you look nice, or if you are wearing something different, they tease you. They like you to be like them. The quieter ones are usually the better pupils, but they don't want us'. Katie, 19 commented: 'I almost had a fight with this girl. I was a goal-shooter. I was good and she called me a wog. "You are not a pure Australian, you are a convict", I said. "I don't want to have a fight, but wogs went out of fashion". I used to be really scared of the older girls. The tough ones used to go round and say, "The Greeks don't have boyfriends; their mothers won't let them have boyfriends; they're square". But I loved the school in spite of this'. Mary, 18, said:

> They always pushed around the girl who just arrived in Australia and spoke no English. One of our teachers said to us, 'If you have money, you can go to good schools; but if you have no money, you have to stay in schools like this. You will get nowhere from here'. I always felt left out, but I knew that these girls weren't the right kind of people.

Chris, 18 stated: 'I was in a lot of fights; we were always belted up. We told the principal, and he wouldn't do anything about it. I did hit a guy once, throwing punches at me. I got six cuts for it. When we complained they did nothing. We don't hate the Australians, and those who call us names are ignorant'. Con, 18, recalled:

> First day I went to high school in Form 1 I was pushed around by Australians. They call you wog and come behind you in a group, about five of them, and push you. I was small to begin with, but when I grew bigger they didn't touch me. One of the boys shouted at me 'Shepherd boy', referring to a story I told in class about the goats and sheep we had in Greece. I got angry and hit him with a stick. He was bleeding. The boss called me, but did nothing.

Those in the earlier study reported more discrimination at school than those later (58.1 per cent as against 32.2 per cent).

The current group of pupils treat name calling as unsubtle and boring, dismissing it as unimportant, whereas those who are now older were more seriously affected. A factor to be considered is their position in the family hierarchy. Those in the older group were the first to have contact with Australians, without preparation or knowledge of what to expect, whereas the younger group may have had sufficient preparation; or perhaps the older group, in their meetings with others, inevitably turned to reminiscences and stressed what appeared in retrospect the more traumatic. Of those who left school and are now at work, 7.5 per cent reported frequent, and 24.7 per cent occasional, discrimination. Fourteen per cent were not aware of it at all. One young man referred to the fact that with increased confidence on account of their improved English, they were able to retaliate. Perhaps what 20-year-old Nick told me was correct:

When I was head prefect at school, I used to get the younger Greek kids together and talk to them about the things the teachers should have been doing and weren't. When I saw a kid being knocked over, I told the other Greeks how I acted. The teachers resented it; but too bad, kids had more respect for me than their teachers. I saw that the Greek kids used to get nothing better than animal treatment, but we in the senior years took it upon ourselves to prepare the younger ones—we Hellenised them and were getting them ready for what they could be experiencing.

Parents' and children's perception of schooling

The earlier data revealed (see Isaacs 1976: 97) that the majority of the children (23/60 boys and 27/47 girls) liked school. Some parents assessed the situation differently, as Mrs K, mother of four schoolchildren:

Some Greeks don't encourage their children to stay at school. They take them away after Fourth Form because they want them to earn so that they don't have to worry about them. I don't worry about money as long as they have a good education. We go for a holiday together. Some Greek people are jealous, but they are not strong in the head. We see that the family has clothes and is not hungry. I don't want them to earn, but to rest and get a good education.

Z differed: 'Some of our people want the children to leave school and go to work and make money so that they can buy houses'.

Though the parents equated length of school attendance with learning, most of them saw State education as inferior, teachers' conduct and appearance unprofessional and methodolgy of teaching antiquated and unproductive, lower in every way than the Greek system, where teachers and principals had more commitment and concern. In the words of S:

Why children have to go so many years to school and then not get to the university? The teachers are not thinking. Maria finished school and did not get to the university. She is at the Teachers College. When she was practice teaching she asked to go to her old primary school. When the headmaster saw her, he said, 'I didn't think you Greeks would ever make it'. Why didn't he say, 'It's good to see you, Maria; how well you've done'.

N, whose daughter went to Athens as soon as she finished school, where she failed to matriculate after 12 years, and is at present studying to enter the University of Athens, said: 'Sophia's teacher used to say to her, "Don't worry Sophia, a job in a milk bar is good and steady". My daughter worked for a while in a milk bar, but she was bored and couldn't get another worthwhile job. She will stay in Greece'.

Tony, now 22, who left school in Year 11, remarked:

If I were in Greece I would have been better educated. My brother came to Australia when he had finished high school in Greece. He had learnt enough to equal university here. It's the way they teach. Here, the teacher wants you to pass exams, and Form 6 in Greece equals fourth year university here.

Tony's father, who was present, said:

The kids should know more when they stay so long at school, and most say, 'I don't like the system'. Take, for example, the kids of new Australian parents: we can't help them; we don't know anything. Those kids who can pick it up are O.K. Teachers should have more discipline, they should insist on getting things done. If I ever go back to my country, I'll kiss the feet of my teacher. If I didn't know my lessons, he grabbed me by the ear and said, 'You learn'. I say this to my son, who finished high school and can't find a job. He wanted to be a geologist but was told at the finish that he didn't take the right subjects. Now he lost a year. Another thing, why should the children be able to drop any subject they like? They want the parents to produce nice, good people. Do you know what my son did? At the age of 16 the police brought a court case against him, and when I smacked my son in court the police asked me why I did it. They said I am not allowed to hit him. So what do I do? He stays at home, and at 18 he has to ask me whether he can go out to play snooker with his pals once a

week. If it is wrong what I am doing, I should be told what is right. The same with the kids. If I took a photo of the teachers and sent it home, no one would believe me. They look worse than the kids. They don't teach them about Australian society to understand a little better, have more knowledge and tell us. The teachers are there for the children to watch, listen and learn. At high school, Irene, Tony's sister, was always ahead because she worked on her own. Teachers should know that students depend on them. Irene would come home and cry, 'The Science teacher would walk into the classroom without preparation. He would bring out examination papers, and we did nothing but go through them. Some of us hoped that the questions would be worded in the same way as those papers. We complained to him and I said, 'Why don't you teach us?' 'There will be a few changes soon', he kept on saying. I myself took Irene and two of the girls to tech., and they said nothing to the principal. They learnt more at tech. than at school and that helped.

Pupil assessment of teacher assistance

When I asked the students in 1977 to comment on teacher assistance throughout their schooling, answers were contrasted with the enthusiasm they showed in early primary grades (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: **Pupil assessment of teacher assistance**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Good	1	1.1	—	—
Satisfactory	10	10.8	12	12.9
Unsatisfactory	22	23.7	20	21.4
Leaving too much to the pupil	15	16.1	13	14.0

One boy[1] saw teachers' assistance as good, and 42 (45.2 per cent) as unsatisfactory. Twenty-eight (30.1 per cent) felt that teachers left too much to the pupils. In contrast to parents, who were saying 'it is up to the children' while simultaneously manipulating them into the transition to a self-supporting adulthood, the teachers assumed that it was part of the normal developmental process, and the natural outcome of schooling. Such assumptions are irrelevant for the Greeks and put them at a disadvantage if, as some teachers believe, the developmental process is a by-product of education. The local school knows little of the importance of attitudes, assuming that the children would enter school with a full knowledge of Australian social and behavioural norms. Of the 42 pupils (45.2 per cent) who were dissatisfied with teachers' assistance, Mike, now 22 years old, who repeated Year 12, recalled:

> The teachers are out to build up their own status. They get disappointed when someone fails, yet initially they don't help as far as basic understanding of what study is all about. When I finished school the first time round, I didn't know the relevance of study or subjects. All teachers except one showed only indifference to us. We never discussed anything at school. There was no access to information or what was available. The

[1] I first interviewed this boy at school and subsequently decided to do so outside. I reinterviewed him at home, but still without success as his mother was just going through a divorce and was unhappy.

individual teacher kept on saying that the pupils should be grateful for what they were getting. There was this one teacher who gave us a realistic, carefree picture and drove us hard. He knew me. I was lucky for six years at high school, and he told us continuously, 'You are gone once you get out of here if you don't know how to study'. He made us think. Other teachers made us copy what they were saying. There were talks which were destructive, got us nowhere, backsliding. There has to be an acceptance by the teacher of the kids' weaknesses.

Athena, 21 years old, added:

I couldn't think of the English expression so I wrote it in Greek[2] and tried to express it in English, but because my point of view was not according to that of the teacher's, and of course she couldn't understand the Greek, I got 3 out of 20 for the essay. So you learnt to be dishonest. At the same time the teachers kept reminding us of the school's importance. It never made sense to me because nothing was done to educate us. Homework piled up, essays were not corrected.

Helen, 17 years of age, commented:

Neither the school nor the teacher prepares you for the outside world. The first day I went to work, after leaving school at 15, I was doing a secretarial course. I really couldn't cope because I found it all very strange. You see I never met any Australians, and apart from not understanding the every day things, I decided to go back to school to Form 3. I soon found out that nothing changed. The teachers were not helping. They get angry when the kids didn't understand. At first we would be allowed to take higher levels, then they pushed us into lower ones because they said there was no room. They told us, for instance, not to do high levels because we won't get extra marks. But after the exams the teachers told us that they would count for the extra marks, and I remember I was going to do 4-unit Maths. I didn't do it because the teacher said the class was full, and in fact there were only two kids in our school who did 4-unit Maths. Then one teacher said I must be daft to do the lower levels, so my father asked for a transfer to another school. We just had no choice, in that school. I remember one of the headteachers didn't allow us to take advanced levels because she said there were no facilities for that at school. The first time I ever got up to ask a question there was a threat of expulsion. On the principal's door there was a notice which read, 'Anyone who goes beyond this notice is expelled', and when I told my father about it he said to me, 'Do it because you have to, and if you want your bread, you have to make an effort'. I learnt nothing from school except intolerance.

I asked the children to record on a four-point scale how they estimated the teachers' ability to assist them (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: **Pupil assessment of teacher ability to assist in a multilingual school**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Generally helpful	7	7.5	8	8.6
Unable to cope	9	9.7	8	8.6
Lack of interest	29	31.2	29	31.2
Damaging	3	3.2	—	—

[2]My personal experience was more satisfactory. When sitting for the Matriculation Examinaton, after six months of English tuition, I translated German and Latin texts into French and Polish. Accompanying my examination papers was a letter from the then principal of the school I attended asking for consideration for my temporary lack of English expression. I matriculated to Sydney University.

Andrew, aged 18, said:

> It's not the teachers' fault. It's the schools we are sent to and the Australian kids there. The teachers are helpful enough. The teacher walks into the schoolroom, everyone mucks up; what kind of a mug am I to stay out of it and concentrate? But generally speaking, teachers are dull and kids jig school for this reason.

Angela, 18, in Year 12, stated: 'The teachers don't know much about us girls, and they can't cope, so we invited a group of Australian girls and a teacher to our church for Easter. Teachers in junior years can't understand us, and we can't understand them, but now in the last year at school they treat us like adults'.

Manuel, now 17, questioned the teachers' awareness of issues in a school where the majority of the pupils are from a non-English-speaking background. He saw a teacher's attempt to be helpful as failing on account of ignorance of what the real needs of the boys are. He explained:

> We had a music teacher who was also the careers adviser. In the guidance lesson in Form 1 he taught us, as he said, manners: how to sit down, how to eat and how to hold a knife and fork. 'When you are invited to dinner', he used to say 'You must not appear in shorts. You must wear a suit and suitable clothes'. We all thought he was mad. Where does he think we came from, a desert? We learn these things at home, and I thought the whole thing was pointless.

Philip, aged 21, argued: 'Teachers ought to know a little about our culture and of how we feel about things. One of them, I thought he was having a joke with me, gave me a test with pictures of elephants on it. For God's sake, I was 16 years of age!' John, 17, in Year 12, added:

> Ours is the most revolting school; it was named the fourth worst school in the State. It was not better in the primary. Before I got to high school, I never knew the alphabet. In class they threw eggs, flour. The teachers just wrote on the board every day of the year, saying 'There are the answers and you learn them'. No explanation, no discussion. I couldn't pick up subjects I wanted, only those which were given to me, but I persevered and I just sat for the Higher School Certificate. I don't know yet how I did. When I went into the principal's office for my reference, he said, 'I don't really know you. I only see the bad guys. I never see you guys'. He said whenever I needed help to come back to school. Then he said, 'You've got good personality, all the teachers say so'. I nearly asked him to move over and I'd sit in his chair. I liked the smell of his cigar.

Theo, 18 years old, remarked:

> Some teachers just undermine the Greek's confidence by sheer ignorance and not thinking. One teacher said, 'Ask parents to help you do this sum', or for the Social Studies, 'Ask your father to tell you about the war'. I remember all the Australian kids came in next day with those stories and I had nothing to contribute. Or a thing that used to annoy me and make me hate them was the teacher saying, 'Ask you father to play football with you at the weekend'. I did not know what football meant.

Denise, aged 22, said that while at school, the teacher picked on her, always making her the centre of attention:

> I left school after being pushed around for five years doing a clerk's job and messages. I got a job as a salesgirl, and there was no future in that, and my parents wanted me to return to school, and I did, and now I am doing my Higher School Certificate. I am determined to see it through.

Parent and pupil assessment of schooling received

Parents knew little of schooling, how it worked and what was required. They based their assessment on easily identifiable aspects such as insufficiency of homework, teachers' appearance and lack of discipline. To them results of examinations,

promotion systems from grade to grade and year to year were tangible aspects of progression towards the achievement of future goals (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: **Parent assessment of children's schooling**

	n	%
Good	8	8.6
Satisfactory	4	4.3
Unsatisfactory	23	24.7
Knows little of education system	58	62.4

The slight knowledge the parents had of their children's schooling was not the result of their lack of interest but simply of their children's withholding of much of what was going on at school, although during my 1970 fieldwork I attempted to explain some aspects of it. They wanted to provide an education for their children and their statements indicated that they wished the school to go ahead and do its job.

Michael, 21, said:

> I rarely told my father the terrible things that were happening. I only raved on about sport. 'How about schoolwork?' he would often say; 'You don't tell me anything about that'. I used to shy off the subject so that he knew little about what went on at school. I knew that he had enough trust in me, and I knew what was best for me. If I told what went on at school, he would have gone there and really gone mad. But I was afraid to get a name among the teachers, so I did nothing and said nothing.

In part 1, I recorded 32 men (29.9 per cent) and 35 women (32.7 per cent) dissatisfied with the education the children were receiving. These dissatisfactions were contained in three categories: conflict over traditional home values (11 men, 10.3 per cent; seven women, 6.6 per cent); lack of discipline (12 men, 11.2 per cent; 13 women, 12.2 per cent); lack of books and set homework (nine men, 8.4 per cent; 15 women, 14.0 per cent). The question to parents in the recent fieldwork sought to find out whether the school was assisting in the developmental growth of their children in Australia and whether they considered the school an agent of estrangement.

The parents did not see the school as having any influence on the child's social or intellectual growth. Most of them considered teaching standards poor and teacher interests low. An example is A, who said, 'The teachers are only interested in smart kids'. Steven, now 22, recalled: 'The prefects' room was a casino. All kinds of kids used to come in, and we played cards. I couldn't tell this to my parents'.

Some parents, in making a distinction between schooling, school, teachers and administrative staff, were citing lack of co-ordination between administration and teachers as a real defect in the smooth running not only in the school but in promotion of goodwill amongst parents towards the school. A, in Australia 21 years, said:

> I know teachers and school are very good and that my family is going straight. I don't want my girls to get a bad name; I ask my daughter what she does and I trust her. One day I received a note from the school to explain Helen's absence from the school the day before. I know my daughter, I know she was at school, but I went to the school and said to the principal, 'Sir, my daughter was at school yesterday, and I am not signing any form'. After much argument they found that Helen was at school in the library during roll-call. So why make all the fuss without looking for her first. What do they know about a girl of eighteen?

Helen has never been to the city by herself. She goes with her mother and her sisters. What do they think they are doing when they send a note to parents to worry them? Another time, and this happens often, a teacher kept the girls in. Helen missed the school bus, and there is no other way to get from school but to walk a long distance. I know the time Helen came home every day, so when the time came that day and she did not come, back I want to find her and then I saw all the girls who live round about walking home through the park. I didn't want to go to school and cause trouble because the teacher would take it out on Helen. But I am worried that teachers don't understand the father's feelings. I read in the paper every day about young girls, murders and other things. The teacher could find other ways to punish the girls.

Twenty-three parents (24.7 per cent) who reported schooling unsatisfactory (see Table 4.4) saw the school, rather than the system, in the way of achievement and fulfilment of the children's future goals. V, in Australia 13 years, said:

It was unfair that the boys who went up to Year 12 and repeated their final year still did not get an entry to the university—this should be automatic, from Year 12 to the university. You do so many exams at school; surely they know what and how well you know your work. The teachers should be able to help the students get to the university, and boys work hard and don't make it.

The sharp distinction made by pupils and those now at work of the teachers' assistance in general subject areas, linking it with an inadequate awareness of their real needs, prompted the question of assessment of schooling they received. This they recorded on a three-point scale (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: **Pupil assessment of schooling received**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Good	2	2.2	2	2.2
Satisfactory	10	10.8	8	8.6
Unsatisfactory	35	37.6	36	38.6

Generally pupils saw deficiencies in three categories: limited commitment of teachers, inadequate subject choices and lack of availability of information concerning future careers. Of the four students who assessed schooling good, Aristo, now at work, said:

The teachers were interested in those who were showing some positive attitude to the school motto and school activities, but never bothered to think that there were also other ideologies at work at the same time and that those may cause confusion and conflict with a personal attitude so different, not necessarily hostile, so that it was difficult to cope with the two at the same time. I realise now that the contribution of teachers was to make our environment sheltered and safe, so that we seemed to have shut out the world once we entered school grounds.

Peter, 17 years old, left school before the School Certificate. He explained the reasons:

I was getting into trouble with teachers for about three months in Form 4. I got angry and wanted to leave because some of the teachers made me sick, and when I saw them I just had to get away. At the same time I wanted to stay on and do medicine at the university, and I was doing well at school, as you see from my report. I remember I got 16 out of 20 for my English essay, but because I had flu and handed my work in one day late, my teacher took

off 14 marks and so I failed this assignment. When I said to her she shouldn't do that, I got six cuts. This happened often. I lost marks for silly things. I have to leave school because I was frightened that if they provoked me enough, I'd do something stupid and would regret it.

Peter is working and studying at evening college for the School Certificate and hopes to get to medicine. His younger brother, Nick, now in Form 3, who was present at the interview, said, ' "How can I get to the university, Miss?", I asked the teacher, and she said, "Don't worry son, that's not for you; you won't get there" '.

The discrepancy in motivation and application on the one hand and recorded results in school achievement on the other suggested anxiety and concern, and the children were asked to list some of the sections they considered stress producing (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: **Areas of stress at school**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Subject choices	10	10.8	10	10.8
Teacher turnover	10	10.8	8	9.7
Multiple factors	14	15.1	17	18.3
English language competence	5	5.4	2	2.2
No stress	9	9.7	8	8.6

I asked how they estimated the choice of subjects as related to their future goals, and recorded the answers in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: **Choice of subjects offered in relation to future goals**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Satisfactory	1	1.1	1	1.1
Restricted	46	49.5	45	48.3

The 91 children (97.8 per cent) who pointed to the restricted availability of choices stressed that it was not merely the small number of subjects that worried them. More serious were restrictions placed on entry and the existing local regulations governing the choice of subjects offered at school. Steven, who repeated Year 12, reported:

My top subject was French, but I could not take it at school when I repeated Year 12. I could only do it by correspondence. I opted against it. There is no contact with teacher or with those who are doing the subject in class. I was always lectured about not changing

subjects or levels because what counts is marks. I went along with that and had to do a different lot of subjects the second time in final year.

Ambrossios, now in Year 12, added, 'We really had no choice. I wanted to do Modern Greek; I was not allowed to do that even by correspondence. I know a boy who had to change schools to do Modern Greek'. Fotini, aged 20, recalled:

> Instead of getting on with the subjects or careers, silly things were emphasised like length of hair. I used to be called Lady Godiva, and then they started on length of socks. I was sent to the principal's office who was forever tidying girls' hair with elastic bands. I remember we started to do French, and it was discontinued without warning. The same with other subjects. We were going to do typewriting but it never happened. The one thing I really hated was when the teachers would write something on the board and ask us to copy it without any discussion. Well, we did not know what discussion was about. I remember one teacher called us in to the staffroom and asked me, 'What are you going to do when you leave school?' I hoped to get a job in a bank—O.K.; thank you. No discussion about it.

Toula, 20 years old, stated:

> There wasn't much advice. We were handed a sheet of paper. Nothing was said. I had no say. They virtually chose the subjects for me. You are put into a class with subjects where you know nothing about the facilities, opportunities or what you can do with these subjects in the future.

Sophie, now 21 years old, added:

> I had difficulty in Maths. I never had a proper teacher from Year 2 to 6. In one year I had four different Maths teachers, each one with a different method. Very confusing. I failed Maths, but the most depressing thing was that we were left entirely on our own. The careers adviser didn't say to us, 'These subjects are good for what you want to do' or tell you what subjects were essential to qualify for certain careers. At the last minute in Form 6 they brought in all the papers. No explanation; no one had any time to sit down and answer questions. They shouldn't leave all this to just before all the exams. For example, a teacher could say, 'I am a teacher. Is there anyone who would want to know something about teaching as a career', and explain at least what was needed. In spite of all this, I loved every minute of school and study.

In interviews the children referred to the poor quality of their English, both spoken and written. In 1977 I placed the children's assessment of the standard of English they reached in three categories (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8: **Pupils' appraisal of areas of difficulty in English**

	n	%
Insufficient assistance from teachers	21	22.6
Inadequate expression at senior levels	21	22.6
No real criticism	51	54.8

Those in the first two categories argued that whenever they requested direct assistance from the teacher, they met with hostility and often dismissal. Those who had no real criticism deplored the attitude of the teachers. Mary, 18, commented:

> In Third Form we went to the careers adviser—my two Greek girl-friends, one Yugoslavian and one Italian. The Greek girls were taught History by the careers adviser, and they told me that she was prejudiced against foreigners. As soon as we entered the room she told us that we had a language problem, that we should stop coming to school and that we should

get a job. We stayed on in Fourth and Fifth Forms, and most of the Australian kids dropped out. The teacher kept rubbing it in about language problems. She knew we were Australian born. I was really shocked to hear her say it. I nearly said to her that it was her duty to give us confidence and information, not just dismiss us out of the school and university. Another Greek girl in Form 3 came up to me and said, 'You know the careers adviser told me I had a language problem and advised me to leave school and get work in a factory'. She also says we take jobs away from the Australian girls. We stormed out of her office because we knew we had no language problem.

Some pupils questioned the teaching of English. They saw the difficulties and deficiencies in the usage of English.[3] John, finishing Year 12, said:

I do have problems in my English, in comprehension. We read passages and I don't know so many words that I can't understand the meaning of the whole. I tell the teacher, but she says, 'You have to read more books, newspapers, articles, literature', but she never suggests any books, does not give me a list of books. If she gave a list it would help me. I don't know if I passed in English. If I don't, that would finish my entry to the University of Sydney. Everyone complained at school and then we had a relief teacher who gave some practice in comprehension, a passage a week. I got six out of ten occasionally, but more often I failed. It was too late anyway.

Toula, in final year high school, added: 'It is difficult for me to write essays or state my opinion, as I have no fluency in writing English. When I try to say something, I just can't express myself. The teacher gives me back my assignments and scribbles all over the pages, in red, 'poor expression'. In History it is O.K. The facts are there to back you up'. Con, 21, said:

I am at a disadvantage because sometimes I want to say something and I know there is a word for it and I have to use so many little words and by the time I think I am right and on the point of getting it, I forget what I was talking about. I can't improve because of the people I am mixing with, and, above all, because of the level of our conversation in English.

Michael, 18 and in final year at school, reported:

From early stages the English teacher writes, 'English expression faulty'. The teachers keep saying, 'It's hard to get good expression'. My Science teacher is unable to help me develop the expression for an essay. I am unable to put my point across, and when I ask the English teacher for assistance, I get no answer. The teacher just goes over and over the facts and tells me to structure it differently and then put phrases and thoughts together. It all sounds so unreal, as if everything has ganged up against me—I can't follow.

Joanna, 18, commented:

I have all the ideas, but I can't express myself. When I write it down it makes no sense. I ask the teacher to help me, and he told me that I distract the class and blames me for everything. He told me I got this low mark before the lesson, and I asked him three times not to read it out, but he did. I'd like the teachers to explain more fully and plainly. They use big words, and I can't understand. Our Home Science teacher talks to the Australians and ignores us. There are only two Australians in the group. She is so lazy, and talks all the time. We have done two pages of work this term, but nothing of value. She gave me an assessment of forty. She told me, 'You are not going to get through'. I wouldn't go to see the principal because I am frightened if I go he'll call the teacher and tell him who said it, and the teacher will get me and I will be hated. My parents would say, 'It's your fault'.

Paraskevi, 22, stated: 'The teachers see you through because they're paid for it, not because they want to help you. They are there to see us through the exams, and if we pass, this reflects back on them because they don't like to see failures. One teacher often told us he wouldn't like any of his group to fail, and all Greek students gradually dropped out'.

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[3]See Isaacs 1976: 94 and Table 47 for English usage diagnostic test results.

The senior pupils saw the clumsiness of their English as a real problem. They were surprised at the teachers' constant reminders for better expression without giving help. They saw their teachers' approaches as meaningless and their admonitions repetitive and valueless. In the meantime, their inability to express themselves satisfactorily spells failure in examinations, preventing their entry to universities where a pass in English is compulsory.[4]

How can schooling be improved?

Table 4.9 contains the main categories of the parents' perception of how schooling can be improved.

Table 4.9: **Parents' perception of how schooling may be improved**

	n	%
Increase of teacher interest	8	8.6
More teacher supervision, discipline	29	31.2
It is up to the child	56	60.2

Parents, mothers and fathers alike, said that the child must learn to be independent, but that teachers should show more interest in the pupils' educational needs, that there should be more supervision and discipline, reverting all the time to: 'The teachers teach, but the boys and girls have to learn more'.

The pupils' replies were more or less consistent with the parents' assessment (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: **Pupil assessment of how schooling may be improved**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Increased teacher commitment	19	20.4	14	15.1
More subject choices	3	3.2	3	3.2
Availability of relevant information for future	8	8.7	7	7.5
It is up to self	19	20.4	20	21.5

They all insisted that the teachers had little awareness of pupil needs. Some who had been to Greece compared the local schooling with that they had received there. Irene, 18, and her brother Peter returned to Greece when the father decided to sell his shop and settle in his homeland, but two years later they returned to Sydney, a couple of months before the Higher School Certificate. The children had continued their

[4]Macquarie University in Sydney requires an aggregate of all subject passes, rather than a subject qualifying pass in matriculation.

education in Greece, and Peter attempted the Higher School Certificate but failed. Both were impressed by what they termed education in Greece, a concept they regarded as completely abused and misinterpreted here. They saw the Australian school as a prison and the teachers as lazy and uninformed, giving little, if any, relevant information and advice. Peter said:

> I studied all subjects in Greece, but when I presented myself for the Higher School Certificate examination here I failed. I could not go back and repeat, my chances were too slim. All you have to do here is to repeat what the teacher says, which gives you no chance for your own ideas. I was bored with this kind of study, although I did want to go to the university and specialise in radio and television electronics. At school there were so many changes of teachers, and each one had a different technique; one teacher gives you assignments for the next day and when you come to school you are told that there is another teacher replacing him so that for one month in my final year I did nothing—it was not unusual to have four different teachers within that time. I can see what schooling does for Irene. She is not being educated, she is not learning, she is not taught. I try to teach her how to do the work, but there is no assistance from the teachers. There is no advice given you in Australian schools as to study. I was told in Greece what institutions were available if I want to get to university. Here, all they say is 'If you do not make it, bad luck'.

Irene added:

> The atmosphere in the school here was really bad. It was just like a prison, and you were locked in. We had a teacher—we didn't know what he was saying. He left because he was not qualified to teach, as we learned later. Some teachers don't care. They make no impact. The lesson lasts forty minutes, and when they set you work, they walk out to prepare for their next teaching assignment. When I went to school in Greece, I learned in three months more than in three years here. If a teacher is away here, the substitute allows you to do noughts and crosses. That would never happen in a Greek school. In Greece we had twenty in the class, and the teachers were more involved with the pupils; if there is any trouble or difficulty with the subjects, the teacher stays back to explain. Information is readily available as to what your goals are and your orientation to your future. The way the school is run there is meant to educate the pupils. Here, they are just concerned about passing exams, and that is not education. You pass the exams and then forget. A test for that chapter, and then you forget about it for the rest of the year. There, they won't let you forget. It is continuous.

Jim, now 22, recalled:

> I wish I had never gone to school. I could see what it was doing to the other Greek boys and I identified with them, particularly the younger ones. I did not mind the teachers' sarcastic remarks to me: 'Jim is his usual authoritative, self-centred self'. I was told a horrific story about this teacher and a kid and I told him, 'You are lucky that the kids don't get together and beat you up'. Every time we went to sport the teachers were there to urge us on, they taught us to hate the other schools, though in retrospect I can see why we were so easily taken in. We envied them because they had all the things we wanted. We had school spirit, if that is school spirit just to win on the sportsground and hate the others—you tell me. Academically, the teachers were not helpful. The common thing we heard when we asked for some help was: 'You should be doing your own thing. We are not here to tell you and tell you'. The kids here respected me more than they did the teachers. The saddest year for me was when I was head prefect. I could see what was going on. The kids talked to me like a friend, and I appreciated their problems; the teachers were trying to get rid of them into the streets, so that when they got into trouble they were not held responsible. The first thing those teachers should do is to learn how to be human beings. The kids got nothing short of animal treatment. One teacher had so much trouble I helped him out. He was too young to cope with a large class and tough boys and most teachers gave him away. I called one of the teachers an idiot because he just came into the class and read from a textbook. All the teachers kept emphasising the fact that everything revolved around Maths and Science because one can get the highest marks in these subjects. I wanted to study Ancient History, Economics and Geography, but there was such a lack of enthusiasm amongst the teachers

> that the kids in a similar position became very apathetic. Then, just before the Higher School Certificate, I met with an accident. The Education Department was really bad about it. They made me sit for the exam. My father had to drive me to school, and every few minutes I had to take sedation. After three hours of writing, my head was pounding, and I knew then I could not do another day like this, and so next day I took in a medical report, but I don't think they even read it. I did the exam, and, of course, failed. I repeated Year 12 and took first level in Ancient History. I was taught by a woman who was at some stage a lecturer at a university and she said I would get level 1. I didn't and missed matriculation.

Thirty-nine of the students (41.9 per cent) who said it was up to them qualified this as they were saying it. They were getting little help from the teachers, who were tellimg them 'You are on your own'. In this respect they were different from their parents, who, in putting the responsibility on the children for educational advancement, supported it with constant admonition not to depend on anyone but to work harder in keeping with the prescriptive norms of building up the self-reliance essential in the pursuit of fulfilment of family obligations. They thus reinforced the belief that the purpose of life was a continuing struggle with circumstances, outside forces, a pitting of one's self against the environment. The teacher's injunction 'It's up to you, son' though bearing the same message, does not produce the same effect, inasmuch as they, the teachers, have not initiated or established with the Greek pupils relationships of trust at any level of their educational experience.

5. Church, marriage and Greek schooling

The functioning of the Greek man and woman is interlocked with the traditional institutions which he and she are endeavouring to maintain, hand on to their children and ensure their transmission to future generations. Experiences are evaluated from the standpoint of certain unique foci. For the purpose of this discussion, I have selected three: the Church, marriage and Greek schooling. As part of a total experience, they are vital and dynamic controllers of actions, independent of economic well-being, educational levels, sex differences or years of residence in Australia.

The Church

'Perhaps no other force has exercised a greater influence on the Greek family than the Eastern Greek Orthodox Church' (Bardis 1957: 155). One of the main reasons is the fact that Greece was occupied by Turkey from 1453 to 1821. The Church was the only institution that managed not only to survive but also to maintain part of the Hellenic civilisation. Greek orthodoxy and Greek nationalism are almost inseparable. Greek nationalism is Greek Orthodox nationalism, and the Orthodox Church of Greece is a national Orthodox Church. In the villages, in particular, the Church has been the main, if not the only, source of social control. This accounts for some of the features of the family in Greece. Divorce and remarriage were not looked upon with favour, and regular and consistent church attendance was part of the village life.

Attitudes to church attendance varied among the earlier group and could be classified under three headings: (1) regular (every Sunday and feast days), (2) occasional (some Sundays and some feast days) and (3) non-attendance.[1] Members of all three categories see themselves as religious, God-fearing worshippers, rationalising their non-attendance in various ways, as the table and statements reveal. It may be noted here that during regular church services the sexes are segregated.

Table 5.1: **Church attendance: parts 1 and 2**

	Part 1						*Part 2*					
	Men		*Women*		*Children*		*Men*		*Women*		*Children*	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Every Sunday and feast days	21	19.6	24	22.4	41	38.3	50	53.8	66	71.0	83	89.2
Important feast days only	50	46.7	67	62.6	65	60.7	17	18.3	17	18.3	10	10.8
Christenings, weddings, funerals only	36	33.6	16	14.9	—	—	26	28.0	10	10.8	—	—
Never	—	—	—	—	1	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	—

[1]For a detail account, see Bardis 1957: 84.

The 1977 fieldwork indicated that there was a marked increase in church attendance of both parents and the younger generation (see Table 5.1); 83 children (89.2 per cent) attended in a family group, six boys by themselves, three with their peers and there is no evidence of the discontent and criticism the parents offered in 1970.[2] It may well be that in the beginning of their residential resettlement, bent on establishing the Church and community, they criticised because of their own lack of knowledge of the conditions prevailing. An additional factor is a growing interest in Church teachings in both the younger and the older groups. Of those who attend church often, Nick, aged 18, is most devout: 'I am close to God; I am trying to do my best by what the Church says and the Bible. When we go into retreat, I feel happiest. At school with my mates or my parents who are also believers it is only up to a point. The Greeks say "moderation". Not for me; I am totally involved'. Manuel, 22, said:

> As I grow older, I've come back to the Greeks: I accept my parents' moralistic attitude—the discipline—the main reason for my own increasing attachment to our faith. I remember when I was in junior school my mother had to pull me by the legs to get me out of bed to go to church. What made me change? On the one hand I found that a lot of things which I accepted and had some sort of appeal were really only epiphenomena, they had no deep spiritual meaning; but as I always pushed for a purpose and some higher meaning, I thought more deeply about this. When this feeling was absent, I knew it was unsatisfactory. I became active in the Christian fellowship. While at school, I made contact with certain boys who were not interested, but then we split up.

But 18-year-old Mick stated: 'I go to church to keep my parents happy; I go to see my friends and the girls I used to go to primary school with. They've grown so pretty'. Eighteen-year-old Nick commented: 'I am a believer, but not a church-goer'. Bill, 21 years old, reported: 'I've been doing my own thing for the last five years; I don't make a thing of it: I go to church when I feel like it'. Eighteen-year-old Joanna added: 'Mother says we are religious, we should believe in God. I don't think we are. We go to church Christmas, Easter, name days, that's all. I would like to go to church every day'. Seventeen-year-old Androula explained: 'When Grandmother lived with us, we used to go every Sunday. When she moved to my aunty's, we only go on Saints' days and main holy days'. Typical of those who moved house is 18-year-old Steven, who commented: 'After I left Redfern, I go to church very seldom'.

The acceptance of the Church by the parents, and the identification with it of the younger generation, points to the skill of the Church in keeping anxiety at bay by giving its members support in the belief that it is possible to preserve the traditional institutions on alien soil.

Marriage

The significance of the family puts obvious limitations on the choice of a spouse. Not only do parents disapprove of marriage with non-Greeks, but some regional Greeks, particularly those from the Dodecanese Islands, insist that their children marry someone from their place of birth. The reason advanced most commonly is 'We know them, they know us'. A, who arrived in Australia in 1951 and left in October 1970, told me: 'I am taking my family to Greece. I looked after my daughter for 17 years. I want her to be well looked after, and in our village we know the families and they know us'.

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[2] This could be the result of the official social welfare work of the Church, with the formation of the social welfare centre at Redfern in 1975. Since April 1977 the Centre employed the equivalent of two full-time welfare officers, one full-time secretary, a part-time psychologist and a part-time social worker. In the period of April 1977–June 1978 the Centre cared for 1078 new cases, a total of 4805 interviews. It is a service for Greeks (nationals; naturalised Greeks and Cypriots). (From a personal interview with Father Stephanos, Sydney, 4 September 1978, and report 1977–78).

Twelve of the 107 sample parents in part 1 had a relative who had married a non-Greek (Isaacs 1976: 79 and Table 39 for their evaluations of mixed marriages and reasons for rejecting them).

Those who hoped their children would not intermarry recognised that, in the end, the decision rested with the younger generation. X, here since 1950, said: 'It's up to them, I've taught them, I've told them about the drawbacks of a mixed marriage. We speak to them about the bodgies here, but it is their business'.

Only a few of the sample (14 men, 13.1 per cent, and 24 women, 22.4 per cent) were indifferent to the choice of a spouse. Mrs P, who arrived in 1954, said: 'I would prefer a Greek, but if the child is in love, I wouldn't stop it'. Mrs P and the other women simulated indifference, but the thought of its in fact happening they deemed remote.

When marriage is discussed seriously in the family it could be from the time a girl reaches puberty. The choice of the spouse may be that of the parents; this, however, could be preceded by a lengthy period of introductory negotiations between the two parties, and sometimes with the assistance of more people acting as intermediaries. The question of marriage, as it came up in 1970, was almost entirely on parental prescriptions, on the grounds of the children's youth.

Those now married, apart from the three who married Australian girls, chose from their parents' village or region, except one who married outside the island and whose spouse his parents never accepted (they even refused to attend the ceremony). Eighty-eight children (82.3 per cent) answered in 1970 that most certainly a Greek would be the choice, though two boys qualified this: 'Not really, as long as they're good people'. When I asked them to develop the statement, they added, 'Most probably it will be a Greek'. In 1977, 20-year-old Con said: 'I will most probably choose a Greek because Australian girls do not understand us totally. We can be superficially friends, but deep down they really don't understand what makes us what we are, and sometimes what we're saying sounds strange to them'.

The family restrictions put upon the girls' social life preclude their meeting young men. What is apparent also is that the parents' attitudes have been reinforced with the lapse of time. In the words of Mike, aged 18: 'I would choose a Greek girl because Australian girls are not modest. We can't understand each other culturally, and the differences are profound'. Twenty-two-year-old Nick remarked: 'Certainly a Greek girl. I'd prefer it'. Toula, 17 years old, said: 'Almost certainly a Greek. I like Greeks because I never got to know Australian boys, I have five brothers, but they never take me anywhere with them. I see Australians at the bus stop and at school. My mother says, "If you marry an Australian he won't stay with you" '. Seventeen-year-old Soula stated: 'My father says, "You marry a Greek". He doesn't want me to marry an Australian because if I did, I would not want to stay here and he would never see me again. He wants us all to go to Greece when we finish school'.

The restrictions placed on the girls' outings serve to strengthen family social contacts. These are accepted in most cases without resentments. Androula, 17 years old, said:

> No, I don't mind not going out to school functions or with friends. I go out with my parents. I hear of a lot of trouble some of my friends get into. What Mum keeps on telling me is, 'If you expose yourself to the bad things, something will happen'. I wanted to go to the school dance and asked her whether she had no trust in me: 'It's not you I'm afraid of'. It is like that. My mother's sister became pregnant at about 13 years of age, and there was no one to assist her. The family's good name was gone. I spend a lot of time in my parents' company and don't really mind how strict my parents have been. I did get a lot out of it. I enjoy going out with my parents to church and all that. My father is a warden, and we go to church often. The only thing that upsets me is that I would like to spend more time with my friends. I have so many clothes. I like to be well dressed, and when I went to a party once my parents

came to pick me up really early and took me to the local Greek dance. When one of the boys approached to ask me for a dance, my father said, 'He still needs a dummy, he's too young'. So I just sat there with my parents.

Toula, 17 years old, said: 'My aunt keeps telling me, "Toula I have a nice man for you"'. Vicki, 18 years old, remarked: 'We meet and talk with boys at our relations. We are all in the same house, in the same room with our parents. Mother always says to us, "Talk, but don't touch". I wouldn't mind marrying any nationality, but my parents wouldn't let me. They'd chuck me out of the house'. Seventeen-year-old Sophia reported: 'My parents wanted me to go on after School Certificate and possibly to university. After I had finished my course, they would want to find a husband for me, a doctor or a lawyer'. Eighteen-year-old Helen reminisced:

> There was this guy in Greece who asked my uncle how much would my father give him if he married me. My uncle was disgusted, but my father said he would give furniture and something else. I asked Mother what Grandfather gave Father to marry her. She refused to answer and said one mustn't talk about it. My parents' philosophy ruled my life. Not so long ago I had this crazy idea about leaving home, but when I thought about it I didn't think it was so good. A friend of ours ran away with a married man. She was found and brought home and now, at 18, is not allowed to go anywhere. Her father takes her to work and picks her up later. A father of one of the girls in Fifth Form used to come and have lunch with her at school.

No such restriction on boys exists beyond a certain age level. One father said, 'Up to 18 years old going out interferes with your study'.

The girls mostly see these restrictions as prompted by the stress laid on reputation, family name and gossip. When I asked for examples of gossip, 18-year-old Helen said:

> Like Dorry Evans of '96'[1]. At first we weren't allowed to watch it. She has her nose into everything and has to know. Gossip; they all know it. Distant relatives of ours, Father's fourth or fifth cousin, if they hear something, come to tell him and my father then brings up the subject. If it's about me, they go and confront the gossip-monger and bring it to the open as quickly as they can because stories get exaggerated. The other night my uncle came here, and when he saw us kids out of the way (it happens every time), the adults start to talk. We sometimes hear these stories, and this helps us to understand our parents better.

Joanna, aged 18, remarked: 'Our neighbour is the biggest gossip. She told my father that some people say, "If you are ever frustrated, go to Nick's daughter". My father threw me out of the house'. Seventeen-year-old Toula said: 'If the Greeks see me with a boy they gossip. They make up bigger and bigger stories. They saw me with a guy at the bus stop and told my auntie. She took a taxi and came and told my mother. If my father knew, he would kill me'. Twenty-year-old Soula said: 'If I go out—my father says—and other people see me, they gossip and I won't get married easily'. Seventeen-year-old Maria commented: 'People's mouths and your reputation. My mother keeps reminding me that if I go out now before I'm engaged they would call me "The girl on the roads". Mother told me when she at first didn't want to marry my father, my grandmother said to her, "Have you been seeing some other man and this is why you don't want him?" '.

Mary, 18 years old, summarised the attitudes to restrictions: 'When you grow up within these limitations, you don't seem to mind them. My Greek friends don't go to dances or parties at school. My father says I can only go to town with mother and I would have no desire to marry an Australian'. Eighteen-year-old Irene reported: 'I don't mind the no from parents. I will marry a Greek and follow my husband according to my background and cultural requirements'. Nick, 17, stated: 'I wouldn't marry just any nationality, only Greek'. Andrew, 22, explained:

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[1]A character in a commercial television program, 'No. 96', now discontinued.

> We are so conditioned to the restrictions and Greek ways that we just accept them. My older brothers used to go out only with Greeks, but I do my own thing. Mum and Dad mind; but I know I couldn't marry an Australian girl. When I am with Greeks, I feel warm inside. I've met Australians through clubs, through work, but I can never get close to them. I feel this something inside me. I would lose the sense of belonging to a big and happy family. I know it would hurt them, and my mother would never accept her. I had a Swedish girlfriend once, I brought her home, and my parents together with the rest of the relatives sat in a group and did not talk to us. How can I bring so much unhappiness into the family! It's hard to mix, and so when I get married, I don't want to be distant from my parents or my family. When I lived with my girlfriend, I lost all contact with my family. I know they want the best for their kids, and I can't do without them. By chance I met this nice Greek girl. My dad has known her dad for 25 years. Her parents are the first Greek people I know who allow their daughter out without a brother or another relative. She is in Year 10 and wants to finish high school. I'll wait for her.

It appears from the above that marrying out is frowned on for both males and females.

For a Greek woman, marriage in Australia means that her father will not, in most cases at least, have to provide a dowry, 'the curse of many a Greek family' (Saloutos 1975: 31). I noted the general preoccupation of parents with acquiring property in the form of houses for their daughters' dowries and as gifts or inheritance for their sons. There is a moral obligation to give marriageable daughters first lien on the property. Though in each instance, when the word dowry was mentioned, the girls in the group denied its relevance here, they were aware of it. The parents disregarded this and it was clear that whatever relationship was understood to have developed between a young man and woman, their contribution to the arrangement was in every instance either a house or money. The older people hesitantly referred to the dowry system and obviously wanted to preserve and maintain it. It was obvious that the villagers were clinging to their traditional institutions and striving to preserve them.

Greek schooling

I shall make a distinction here between the Greek Orthodox scripture classes held in State schools during one teaching period per week, and after-school Greek lessons. All Greek children in part 1 attended the former but not the latter, which are available to all Greek children of primary school age and are held every afternoon during term. Fees ranged from $20 per child per year, and varied with the parents' ability to pay or the number of children attending from the one family. Tsounis (1974: 31) recorded that, in Adelaide, annual fees varied from $10 for the first child in the primary schools of the central community to $160 for a pupil in the higher school section of the Academy of Modern Greek. Destitute families paid no fees.

In 1972 there were about 40 Sunday schools in the 15 Greek churches in Sydney. By 1978 the number had increased to 60 and 18 respectively. Teachers come mainly from Greek community faithfuls who have a desire to assist the Church. They are supplemented by members of the Greek Youth Christian Society, who give their services free (Isaacs 1976: 65).

Most children and parents stated earlier that one of the main advantages in attending the Greek classes was learning to speak Greek and so being able to communicate with relatives. In the words of S, here for 19 years: 'I was happy because when we all went to Greece, my father could speak to the kids. The children, too, accept this reason'.

The 50 boys (46.5 per cent) and 37 girls (36.4 per cent) who either completed the course or were attending at the time of the interviews, as well as those who had attended and discontinued, gave 'the opportunity to see our friends' as their primary reason for liking the classes. Angelo, aged 10 and born in Australia, said: 'I never see

my friends except at school or in the Greek classes, and it's great fun to go and play up together'.

Of those who left school, Bill, 22, said, 'We all met at Greek school, and we're great pals. In high school we would speak Greek in class. We would call across the class in Greek, and some of those guys I never saw outside school, and yet we were so close'.

Some contrast the amount of learning in the Greek classes with the Australian school. Tom, aged 22, explained:

> I learnt a lot. It's the stuff you get through when you compare it with the Australian school. Can you imagine if Greek school went on from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m.? We could really get ahead. In the Australian school you have all day to learn, and you learn nothing. In the Greek school, in two hours you learn more than in the whole day of the Australian school. We hated it when we were children, but I went back, and only last year I stopped going to Greek school Saturday mornings. I liked it.

Though some parents objected to several aspects of the Greek school, particularly the lack of professional staff and inadequate teaching, most wanted it to continue. Only 23 men (21.5 per cent) and 23 women, in a total of 107 each, recorded no need for it. P, of the former group and here since 1955, commented: 'We'd be sorry if we had no Greek school here; we'd take a private tutor'. Similarly E, in Australia since 1954: 'If my son doesn't go to Greek school, and speaks no Greek, he will lose his sense of Greek identity. He must learn Greek so that he knows my country's language'. Two parents expressed their unwillingness to send their children to the Greek classes, refusing to participate in anything organised by the Church (Isaacs 1976: 87).

Whatever attitudes the parents may have had in 1970, and however hard they worked to transmit these to the then primary and secondary school children, when in 1977 the question concerned the importance of maintenance of the Greek classes or Greek teaching in any form, 88.2 per cent of the sample (now 93 children) answered yes, with 8.6 per cent undecided and 3.2 per cent against its maintenance. Of the first category, Manuel, now 22, who never attended these classes, stated: 'I wish I had attended. These classes helped the kids to learn and understand Greek and keep in contact with other Greek kids'. Mick, now 18, commented: 'I never went to Greek school, but I know the disadvantages of not going. When we all returned to Greece for a holiday, I couldn't understand my grandparents and I felt miserable'. Philip, 22 years old, said:

> We didn't learn much there. I could see it because I was born in Greece. It was not much help to me, but for the kids born here, it is terrific. My sister had four years of school in Greece, and when she came to Australia and attended these classes she would not go back after the first few lessons, but for my brother who was born here it was well worthwhile.

Twenty-two-year-old Fotoula, who went last year to Greece with a group of young people, recalled: 'The classes in that Greek school were too big, and I didn't like it at the time, but when I went to Greece I could speak to my cousins and I had a tremendous time'. Eighteen-year-old Phillip explained:

> I never attended Greek classes, but I was lucky. I learned at home. I didn't want to go to the Greek lessons because my excuse was that I didn't have time to devote to two schools, the Greek and the Australian. That was my excuse. I now see it's good to have them; I meet a lot of guys who can't read or write or speak Greek. It's good to know the language your parents speak. It's so close to you. Your parents have been brought up in it, grandparents and their parents; it is your heritage and background, and you just can't throw it away.

Whatever the parents and children thought of the educational quality of Greek schools, the question of their absorption into the local education system brought forth statements that stressed the importance of their preservation.

In favour of absorption were 69.9 per cent of the group, 24.7 per cent were against it and 5.4 per cent expressed indifference. The primary reasons for integration were that

(1) other than Greeks would have an opportunity to learn Greek (16.1 per cent); (2) the professionalism of teachers employed in the system would spell better results (20.4 per cent); (3) greater advantages result from knowing two languages (16.1 per cent); and (4) it would assist the young children whose school day was too long by attending Greek classes after the ordinary Australian school (18.3 per cent). Sophia, now 22, said: 'If the classes are incorporated, it would be good. The Australian kids would be able to learn another culture, and it would make the Greeks more acceptable, less conflict in school. The Australians could ask us about things they don't understand'. Eighteen-year-old Maria stated: 'There would be trained teachers, and that would be a change from the time we used to attend way back in primary school'. Nineteen-year-old Fotoula commented: 'It's good to know two languages like we learn French or German at school; there would be more choices'. Eighteen-year-old Coula asserted: 'Great, instead of going after school. It would be easier for everybody. You could go home and finish and not go on to another school'. Charles, now 22, said: 'Good. You see, most of the kids want to go home and watch TV after school, and the Greek kids don't look forward to going to Greek classes. The only thing that keeps them happy is that they can play up against the Greek teacher with the other Greek kids'. Twenty-two-year-old Mick explained: 'Yes, mainly because it would be more convenient; the added pressure, the extension of hours after school, the kids get very tired'. Tony, now 18 years old, said, 'Yes, it is hard on little blokes. It's like having another job; when everybody goes home to watch TV you have to go to another school'. Nineteen-year-old Bill, who used to go to Greek school on Saturday mornings, stated: 'It would be better to have them at school and done with, and we would be able to have two days clear like everyone else'. Mike, now 22, recalled: 'Yes, we used to get confused. We had to do homework for two schools. You almost found yourself in two worlds. The discipline is different. In Greek schools the teachers were rough. They belt you—whatever they got hold of—or pull your ear'. Eighteen-year-old Maria said:

> Yes, I would like to see it, as long as the teachers could speak English well; perhaps Australian-born Greek teachers who would draw on their experience from Australian background and the Greek way of life. I wouldn't like to see our English affected, because English is more important, and we learn to speak Greek at home even if it is at times peculiar. My father speaks a kind of dialect. We all learn to speak and not write. I take Modern Greek at school[4], and in my essay writing I find great difficulty.

Of those who were against absorption, 24.7 per cent thought that the Greeks should learn Greek separately, 24.4 per cent saw difficulties in administration, 16.1 per cent feared a backlash of anti-Greek discrimination and 18.3 per cent were hesitant as the learning of Greek might reveal an inadequacy in the language competence of Greeks, which would not be desirable. Michael, aged 19, said: 'I wouldn't be for it at all because it wouldn't be good for everyone. It wouldn't do the Australians any damage. They don't learn anything anyhow. If they had some Greek discipline, it might do something for them'. Nineteen-year-old Steven commented: 'Greeks should learn separately. It helps the Greeks to meet other Greeks'. Mick, aged 18, explained: 'It won't work. The Australians are not likely to enrol. Most of them don't like the Greeks. The pupils from the high school would stir up trouble'. Spiro, aged 19, stated:

> No, I am not for it because it would change the whole essence of it. When I was in second class, when we entered the Greek school, even though we were in the same building—at the time our school was used for Greek classes—we immediately felt the difference. In the Australian classes they used to say to us, 'After tea you do so and so'; I didn't know what

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[4]There are, in Sydney, 14 secondary schools which offer Modern Greek as a matriculation subject. Pupils are also eligible to take it by correspondence. In 1978, 139 students were enrolled in Year 11, and 140 in Year 12. Information obtained from Languages' Aid Department, Correspondence School, Sydney, 15 November, 1978.

'tea' was, because we never used 'tea' in that sense. Teachers were giving orders and instructions to follow and I didn't know what I was meant to do. In the Greek class we knew what it was all about. It was the familiarity of enjoyment of it all. I'll give you an example: even watching TV and not understanding—I shared with the other Greek kids. But I think it would destroy the friendship groups we had in these Greek classes; kids we never saw at ordinary school, we just saw each other in Greek school. The other night about six of us were at a Greek disco and we all realised that we were at Greek school together, not at the Australian school. Something cropped up and triggered it off. Someone said, 'If it weren't for the Greek classes, we would never have met'. We never saw each other except on two afternoons a week at the church, and there we were talking Greek and having a great time.

Coula, 18 years old, represented those concerned with difficulties in administration:

It would be marvellous, but how would they cope? We had Turks, Lebanese, Portuguese, in our school. What would they do or say when first the Greek kids were given this, when our Greek children are taught for an hour here and there and they are not? But, if possible, it would be good because Australians could also learn Greek, and they might even learn to like us a little.

The parents' and children's evaluation of the feasibility of absorption of the Greek school into the local education system poses not only questions of administration or fairness to others or convenience, the recorded answers revealed, but points to (1) their anxiety of growing out of the parental and familial encapsulation or even its modification; (2) their peer choices would be limited (for the Anglo-Australian peer groups at school they had already tested and discounted); (3) the after-school Greek classes provided a variety of components essential to social existence—the recognition of familiar, essential, non-threatening features. It may be that the real function of these classes was a weaning and stabilising period in the transition from the ascriptive modes pursuied by family and kin at home and the hostile environment provided by the local school: a shock absorber whose main function was to soften the ruthless everday encounter with the Australian society.

6. Parents' and children's assessment of status reached

One of the most puzzling and, in turn, alienating experiences for the parents is their realisation that the children do not seem to be 'making it' in obtaining jobs that will provide opportunities for advancement. The many years spent at school at great expense, when they might have been gainfully employed and thus eased the burden of family obligations, seem to be leading to a dead end. The parents envisaged the child's success as a reflection of their own attempt to impart a desire for high social status. In A's words:

> For 15 years I worked for this mean man, and what am I now? I am rubbish, even though through the years I became a foreman. I say to my children every day, 'You must be better than I am; you must study so it is easier for you later in life. I don't care what it is, but not a labourer like I am'.

Though aspirations were high, as revealed by the earlier fieldwork, in the follow-up there was a mixture of satisfaction, mild acceptance and dissatisfaction. When I referred to these aspirations, in most instances neither parents nor children had any recollection at all of what they had said. I then realised that one of my earlier assumptions could have explained the meaning of their lack of recall: when parents wished their son to be a doctor or lawyer, they were not so much concerned with the realisation—though many hoped it would be so—but were anxious lest the children might end up in an unskilled labourer's job. They were also anticipating an increased application in the children so that the failure should not be caused by idleness. They could neither comprehend nor accept the proposition that their children, some of whom had at least ten years of schooling in Australia, had attained only unskilled worker status. It puzzled them why some of their children had not mastered the basic rules of literacy and why the education system forces pupils to remain at school without obvious progress towards future advantages. They see these only as losses, for the children are so much older when they leave school and thus unable to secure apprenticeships or any occupation with an age requirement.

Of the 37 secondary pupils in the early sample (27 male, 10 female), three (two male, one female) gained university entry, as did two (one male, one female) of the then primary school group. Of the primary group of the earlier fieldwork, 33 (34.4 per cent) are still at school, but as 10 pupils (seven boys and three girls) of the then secondary group did not gain university entry in spite of repetition, it would be difficult to forecast with any degree of certainty the future of the current secondary school group.

When questioned about the degree of satisfaction with the status they reached, the replies of the children and parents seem to be numerically comparable (see Table 6.1).

Some parents and children in the moderately satisfied category emphasised that it was up to the individual to do his best in the environment provided for him. They said that the results demonstrated the children's lack of real motivation and that they could do the work without assistance from the teacher if 'it was in them', simultaneously pointing out that their children were succumbing to the easy ways of the Australians, like having girl-friends and wanting to go out. The dissatisfaction contained in it their belief in the struggle with circumstances: the handicaps and the attempts to overcome them and the lack of opportunities within the school to make success real. Some children dismissed all this, however, disregarding the school defects and their own failures by enrolling at a technical college rather than giving up.

Table 6.1: **Satisfaction with current educational and occupational status (parents and children)**

	Parents		*Children*			
			n		*%*	
	n	*%*	*m*	*f*	*m*	*f*
Satisfied	16	17.2	8	10	8.6	10.7
Moderately satisfied	45	48.4	20	22	31.5	23.7
Dissatisfied	32	34.4	16		17.2	18.3

In the words of 22-year-old John: 'I am realistic like my father. As soon as results came out of the Higher School Certificate, I enrolled at the tech., took out my apprenticeship, and this year I am the top apprentice'. Michael, 21, said: 'My father got the job for me. He is the boss of his unit'. His father commented: 'After six years in primary and two years in high school, Mike was not getting anywhere, so I took him to work with me. If I had that much education, my life would certainly have been different'. Nick, once a pupil in the OA primary school, then in the general activity stream in high school and now at technical school, said:

> My father keeps telling me that I should have stayed on at school like my brother who is now an architect, but I couldn't stick it. I was mixing with Australian kids all the time, picking up their bad habits. I am not saying they are all bad, but I am glad that I have come back now to the right side'.

Nick's father commented, 'Nick is just stupid'.

Con, 20 years old, stated:

> My cousin's husband found me a job as a labourer in his unit. My parents forced me to stay at school, and after the Higher School Certificate I had a try at the computer. I got nowhere and ended up in a job below my father and brother. My father keeps telling me that he had worked hard all his life to keep me at school. I might wake up one day and go back and get some education. I was given all I wanted, a car, money, because I was the youngest. Father was stricter with the older ones. He blames it all on the holiday he and my sister spent in Greece while I stayed here with my older sister and her family. When they came back after seven weeks, I was so used to going out I couldn't settle. I would just be going out and my mother would say to my father, 'Why don't you stop him?' Father would say: 'We were on holidays and had a good time; let him have a good time'.

Con's father commented: 'We all worked hard to see him finish school, and after twelve years at school I had to get a job for him, the same job he could have got without any education'.

Some boys see their 'bombing out', as they refer to their school leaving, as the fault of their parents. Tony, 20 years of age, left school in Year 11, explained: 'Some fathers give too much to their sons. When they allow us to go out at 19 or 20, we are doing what we see our fathers do. We come home late, tired, and schoolwork hasn't that much appeal'.

Others see their failure as a result of their own mistaken attitude. Tom, 21 years old, added: 'It depends on yourself. I knew it all the time that I needed more education, but I just couldn't force myself to study'. Twenty-one-year-old John commented: 'I was not exactly co-operative at school, and I was bored with study. I know now that I had gone out too often at weekends. I didn't realise it would make so much difference'. Seventeen-year-old Joanna, married, said, 'You must have patience to

study, and it is useless to go to Year 12 unless you want to go to the university. I never liked school work'. Eighteen-year-old Maria, married, explained: 'I couldn't go on at school, though I wanted to. But my parents kept telling me that I'd have to marry or else they'd sell up and go back to Greece'.

Whatever we were discussing, there was always a return to schooling and its value. The stress was on 'becoming something important', particularly among those already in employment—working full time, part time and studying, or just working part time (in the last category they were mostly married women). Steven (then 14 years old) recalled his father, who after 21 years in Australia, said to him, 'You better start learning if you want to know what it is like to look after yourself'.

> I'm going to do the same for my children. The things one learns when working. What the other kids are doing at 18, we did at 14. Father helped me get a job. My cousin and I started work in a local garage. Soon our boss got tired of coming in seven days a week, and John and I had the service station to ourselves on Saturdays and Sundays. In school term we would come every day before school and open the garage, tally up and prepare for the day's business. I didn't have to work, you know, because I got some pocket money from my parents, but I did because I loved it. Even now [Steven is at university] I work two nights a week as a barman. Kids don't know what they are missing when they don't have that kind of experience.

Six young men (6.5 per cent) regarded their present employment as the fulfilment of their aspirations (see Table 6.2); nevertheless their statements contained many qualifying phrases such as 'Yes, but I would like to see an improvement'. Those finding their work moderately satisfactory or unsatisfactory thought that their position would be bettered by more education. Whatever schooling they had, 97.8 per cent regarded education as the most important factor in job getting.

Table 6.2: **Work satisfaction: children**

	n	%
Good	6	6.5
Moderate	23	24.7
Unsatisfactory	4	4.3

Table 6.3: **Comparative assessment of education adequacy and current employment: children**

	n	%
Adequate	12	12.9
Would like a better job	20	21.5
Inadequate	1	1.1

Each one had determined to return to formal study at some stage and resume their education more seriously. Some have already begun to return to what they were saying: 'We should have stuck out at school'. Nine attempted to obtain more education by enrolling several times, and discontinued; and 24 never attempted more schooling (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: **Attempts to obtain more education: children**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Several times, discontinued	4	4.3	5	5.4
At tech., full time	15	16.2	7	7.5
University, one year	1	1.1	—	—
Never attempted	12	12.9	12	12.9

Table 6.5: **Current occupational status: children**

	m		*f*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Managerial	1	1.1	—	—
Skilled and working	4	4.3	3	3.1
On-job trained and working	8	8.6	6	6.5
At tech., and working	7	7.5	2	2.2
Tech. full time	5	5.4	7	7.5
Unskilled, unemployed	6	6.5	6	6.5
At university	3	3.1	2	2.2
At secondary school	18	19.4	15	16.1

Chris, now 21, enrolled at university and dropped out:

> I just wasn't ready to take a university course. There were 32 of us in the class at high school; no discussion was ever held. I wasn't used to doing things on my own. I didn't know where to start. I felt lost. My brother took me to the office where he worked, and I heard all this talk of promotion, superannuation and security. Yes, I tied myself up. I liked it at first, but now I wish I could get out and get more education.

Some young women had little opportunity for further study. They married while still at school. Poppy, who left in Year 8 and was sent to Greece to stay with her grandparents, said:

> I wish I had more education. I can barely read, and my writing is full of mistakes. My marriage was arranged, and I am happy enough, but I want my children to be well edu-

cated. I myself missed a lot of days at school because I went with my parents in the evenings to do the washing up in one of the Greek clubs. We did not get home until 10 p.m. and I was too tired to go to school the next morning. When I got up, I had to clean the house. Mother was already at work, and my two sisters who were working with their husbands left their babies with me to look after them. Now I work every Thursday night and Saturday morning and am saving up for my children's education. A Greek woman came to the door the other day. She was selling encyclopaedias. She told me there were special books for infants, primary and high school children. I spent $1200 of my savings on the books, but I don't begrudge it. I still have $700 in my bankbook, and I wish I could go back now to get some more education and go to the university.

Barbara, now 22, one of four daughters, married with three children, recalled: 'My father saved up for a dowry for me and took us all to his village to get a husband for me. We came back after one year with husbands for me and my sisters; I never had much time for study because I had to do all the housework, but now I wish I could go back. I will get some more education when the children grow up'.

The 33 pupils still at school intend to enter university, except one who wants to be an artist. It is too early to read any meaning into the apparent trend for many more children to stay on at the senior levels than in 1970, and too early also to make any forecasts as to their future occupational status. Of the 93 parents in sample 2, 56 are out of work or in part-time employment, 25 are invalid pensioners and 12 are fully employed. Four of this last category are self-employed. They spend more time at home and are not well off financially. The children still at school supplement the family income and traditional orientation prevails. George, 20, still at school, commented: 'My father made me stay on at school. I could have gone on the dole. So many of the other guys left school and did just that, but my father, like many Greeks, says, "No son of mine will be a bludger" '. Androula, in final year at school, said: 'My work on Saturdays takes me right away from school. I think of nothing when I am working. It is a complete break, and with the money I buy my clothes and some for my little brother. I would not be happy working like that forever; that's why I am still at school. But I am glad to help my parents'. Tom, now 18, in Year 11 at secondary school, explained: 'I give my mother the money I earn. I look after my uncle's grocery shop after school and at weekends. She saved up enough to buy me a second-hand car'.

The children appear to have moved out of their parents' entrance status. The real differences are in the semi-skilled and unskilled category, which, combining the categories of 'On-job trained and working' and 'Unskilled, unemployed' in Table 6.5, accounts for 15.1 per cent and 12.9 per cent for male and female children respectively, compared with 69.2 per cent and 64.5 per cent men and women respectively in part 1.[1]

My findings seem to support those of Chimbos (1974: 61), who recorded a slow movement out of the lowest occupational category for the Greeks in Canada, on account of their lower educational levels. The author added: 'They do not get past the middle class'. I cannot forecast with any degree of certainty the numbers and time it will take for the Greeks studied here to reach middle class status. It is evident, however, that the movement has begun.

[1]For the figures of 69.2 per cent and 64.5 per cent, see Isaacs 1976: 41, Table 14.

7. What of the future?

The major concern of Greek parents was for the children to hand on to the next generation their faith and tradition. The answers in part 1 on friendship choices indicated that half the boys and girls reported seeing friends as the primary reason for liking school, and the friends were Greek (Isaacs 1976: 97). Paraskevi, aged 9, born in Australia, said: 'I meet my friends there; I don't see them when I am at home. I don't see any friends—only at school. Away from school I play with my brothers and sisters'.

The children are admonished every day. How the parents were doing this may be summarised in the words of T:

> We sit at home with the children and talk all the time about the future. When the children are small they listen to us better, and you know how they are always with us, in the house, when we go visiting our relatives or friends, at picnics or dances, at the brotherhood. They hear what we are saying. I never let up. I always talk about what they should be doing.

Parents thus impose barriers on the choice of membership groups from the time of the child's first attending school. Children do not initiate friendships, and if they try to do so, the lack of support from their family soon forces them to abandon what may have been the beginning of one. Thus, many value their attendance at Greek classes on Saturday or Sunday whenever these are available. In the early group of 107 primary and junior secondary school children, some 49 boys (45.8 per cent) and 43 girls (40.2 per cent) had contact only with Greeks at school; of these, 35 boys (32.7 per cent) and 30 girls (28.1 per cent) did not see their friends after school unless they happened to attend the same church or Greek classes; 12 boys (11.2 per cent) and eight girls (7.5 per cent) had Greek friends attending independent schools in the area. Eight boys and 12 girls were not allowed to leave the house after school. They stayed at home with their brothers and sisters. When the children's answers on friendships at school contained no reference to Australians, I elicited the composition of friendship groups by a direct question: 'Have you ever had an Australian friend?' (Isaacs 1976: 98).

The answers were almost evenly distributed in part 1. To the question of peer preferences, 49 (45.8 per cent) of the 107 preferred to make friends among the Greeks, and 58 (54.2 per cent) had an equal tolerance for all nationalities. Of the 14 pupils (eight boys, six girls; 13.1 per cent) who said they would rather not be Greek, five made no comment and the others wanted to identify with Australian girls and boys (Isaacs 1976: 75).

In my recent fieldwork, whatever the parents and children were saying about life in Australia, their basic loyalties indicated slight, if any noticeable change.

Some of the children, though affirming a love for Greek culture and community, prefer the company of friends of their own age rather than constantly participating in the parents' social life. Of the 33 secondary school pupils, 72.7 per cent included within their contact group mostly Greeks and other immigrants. Nine children (27.3 per cent) in the sample associated with some Australians, but emphasised that most of them, as well as other immigrants, were in their group on account of their membership of school sport or debating teams; that they were friends not in the real sense and were rarely seen after school and never included in family outings.

Joanna, in final year at school, pointed out: 'I have Greek friends only. We talk Greek at school. There are 15 Greek girls in my class: the thing we have in common is that we don't go to the dances or parties at school'. Poppy, in final year at school, said: 'I can't really make friends with Australians. I haven't found anyone I want to be friendly with'. Similarly Penny: 'Most of the Australians I see only at school; I

don't see them after school. I can't even go to the movies without an older person. I am an only child and haven't got anyone to go with'. Androula, in final year at school, added: 'I only have Greek friends. We give confidence to one another. A third of the kids in Year 12 are Greek, but as far as going out, even as a group, the chances of going with them are slim. I don't ask my parents' permission any more. I know that Father wouldn't allow me. I have to depend on a lift from him, and he has to come and pick me up. Otherwise I don't go'. Peter commented:

> I like having Greek friends, but I have some Australian friends at school. It doesn't bother me if they say I am different. When I am with Greeks, I feel much freer. We can joke amongst ourselves, and when the Australians are with us they say, 'Why do you speak your own language?' We are very close with the Greek kids at school. There are four of us in the group in Fourth Form and two in Fifth Form, and we'd do anything for each other. We back one another. We have had a few skirmishes with the Australians. The Australians are surfy kind of kids; they might tell us off. But as we grow bigger, we stand up to them, and the surfies are afraid.

Table 7.1: **Peer groups at school**

	m	*f*	*Total*	%
Mostly Greeks	9	11	20	60.6
Greeks and other immigrants	3	1	4	12.1
Greeks, other immigrants and Australians	2	1	3	9.1
Greeks and Australians	2	2	4	12.1
Mostly Australians	2	0	2	6.1

Steven, in Year 11, said: 'When I first came to high school I wanted to make friends with Australians. I wouldn't let my image down so I studied hard, but I ended up with Greeks'. John, in final year at school commented:

> Just to be in the same class doesn't mean we have to be friends. Some idiots in the class just smoke in the corner and are always pushing you in the back, not letting you work when you want to concentrate. They laugh and call you conscie. When we moved out of Redfern it was better, but I didn't find the right people. About two in Sixth Form and one guy in Fifth, but they were all aloof, and I felt rejected. I go out with my parents.

Parental attitudes vary in the degree and consistency of restrictions, and differ from family to family. Seventeen-year-old Mary, in Form 4, said: 'It's better to be separate from the Australians. My mother says, "If you go with them, it keeps your mind from work". I do the cooking. I clean the house and do the homework. My mother tells me, "Your people are your family and your friends are your family"'. Maria, aged 17, left school to marry. She stated:

> When I was at school, I wanted to stay on, but it changed into a co-ed, and the principal and girls changed. At the old school there were really close friendships, and we used to have a main group, twelve of us. This broke into about six groups, and two became my best friends. When it became co-ed., I couldn't stand it. It got me down when my friends came to school on Mondays and told me what they did and how they enjoyed themselves. It used to depress me. I used to hate Mondays. One of the subjects for discussion was leisure, and most of the kids I knew told what they did at the weekend. I felt I was missing out on something. Mostly when they went to school dances they all became the same and close, and I knew no one they were talking about. I felt strange. They were all in different forms but

talked about the same thing, the dances. I didn't know anyone they were talking about and felt rejected.

Anna, in final year at school, commented:

> I have some Australian friends and at school it's pretty terrible for a girl of 18. When a boy asks her out, I have to say, 'Mum won't let me'. I don't go out, because even if I tell my parents where I'm going, they wait up for me. When we get a family invitation to a party, and I want to go out separately, and I do, my parents don't just say to our relatives, 'Anna has gone out', as that will start tongues wagging. So they say, 'Anna is at home studying'.

Seventeen-year-old Sonia, in final year at school, explained: 'One day I brought an Australian friend home after the dance. My brother took me and brought me home. My father said, "Ha, you bring an Australian home and she gets sick. She might have been drinking, or she might have been on drugs". He did not believe me that she was just sick'. Seventeen-year-old Mick, in final year, said: 'I have some Australian friends, but they never invite me to their place. I do ask them to come, but when they come home, Mum says, "Lose them". She doesn't like my friends. They have cars, and Mum says they try to get me away from home'. Nineteen-year-old Peter asserted: 'I don't really like going out with Australians, though at first I envied them. I go to discos rather than family outings, but my dad calls for me. If I went out with an Australian group, I would stay out until five o'clock in the morning, and my parents would worry. I can have a rip-off time with my Greek friends. The chicks are not necessarily Greek'. Theo, 19 years old, said: 'I'd rather go out with Australian girls. The Greek girls I ask aren't allowed out'.

The parents' restrictions apply to those who left school and are at work. They do not leave home before they are married. 'I'm the captain here', said K, pointing to his house. 'I teach my children what is good and see that they are good people. I see that my girls meet good people'. Angela, 17, and working, stated: 'It was better when I was at school. At least my friends were there and we had a good time. When I left school, I had no friends. I miss them. We saw each other every day and I knew what was going on'. Pepita, 17, working, commented: 'At school I thought the girls were rough, and my father told me so. He now criticises the girls at work, and I am not allowed to go out after work'. Eighteen-year-old Maria, working, said: 'I love going out, and my parents are slowly giving in, but the outside pressures make them wary and suspicious. I work full time, but am not allowed to go out. They are so strict because they can't cope with it. They keep telling us, but they are afraid it is not getting through to us'. Eighteen-year-old Anna, at work, stated: 'I think all nationalities are the same, but I have no girl-friends other than Greek. I wouldn't bring friends other than Greek home, for my parents wouldn't like it, and Greeks are set in their ways'. Sophia, 17 and working, said: 'I'd like to go with my friends from work, but my father, though he says he doesn't like interfering with my life, makes it clear that he has to know the people with whom I keep company. Mother doesn't like to leave our girls by themselves [Sophia's sisters are 20 and 17 years old], so we all go out together with the family and relations'. Toula, 18, at present unemployed, remarked: 'When I look back, I know I should have stayed at school. At least I saw my friends there; I don't see any of them now'.

The girls have made friends with Greeks at school, and at work they meet mostly Australians. But parental restrictions ensure that they have to go back once again to the family for social support. The boys are similarly placed. Manuel, 18 and working, said: 'My mates are mostly Australian. We go out together, play snooker, and it's really good to go out without parents'. His mother commented: 'I don't really like his going out, but it's not up to me. His father is weak and won't say anything to him, but Manuel assured me he would marry a Greek girl'. Nick, 18 and working, said: 'I always listen to people older than myself and I would miss going out without my

parents'. Steven, 18 and working, commented: 'The reason my father won't let me go out is that he's scared I'll get into trouble with the police. I wouldn't mind going to jail for what I do. There is no life here anyhow. My father comes home late every night, and I tell him, "You're supposed to stay here and look after your wife and your family, and no one tells you off. I do what you do. I'm not married, I'm free and you go mad at me". It does not get me anywhere'. Tony, 18, at work, commented:

> My father says I'm too young to go out, but I am not as badly off as the guy next door. They won't allow him to go out. He has to be a good boy. When I go in there I can't talk about girl-friends. His father goes berserk when I mention it. He won't even allow the kids to watch '96'. Everybody watches it at our place. Once I made a joke and told the neighbour's sister that Nick had a girl-friend. She told the father and he went mad and thundered on for about an hour. When I told his father that it was a joke, he said, 'You don't joke about that', and gave a lecture for another hour. Nick is not allowed to wear jeans, and his hair must be short. One day Nick came home and forgot to go to the barber. A few days later his father took him by the neck and dragged him to the barber's.

Parents' attitudes to discipline differ between sons and daughters in the 20–22-year-old group. Twenty-year-old Irene said:

> I have this invitation to go out to a party and my parents are invited to a dif' ent one from me, but they won't go unless I go with them. They expect me to accept these estrictions and use a kind of blackmail. They have moved out of their bedroom and made me move into it so that I will have more privacy. They allow me to drive their car. There were a lot of fights when I started smoking, and I felt guilty because they would say, 'Go ahead and smoke', adding 'After all we taught you and did for you'. I notice, when I go into my room to study, they turn the television down. I appreciate it, but when I want to express my point of view, they sort of listen, but it just doesn't have any effect. They say, 'We didn't give you all this education so that you bring home all these kinds of views', and then they threaten me: 'We'll sell everything and go back to Greece'.

But Irene's father said:

> When my daughter says she will be back at 10 or 11 p.m., she must be home then. I can trust her, I taught her to be good. When someone rings up, I answer the phone and the way they speak I can tell what they are like and if they are suitable. Here, the parents don't worry for either boys or girls. Sometimes we won't allow our 17-year-old son to go out. We trust him because he's clever, but we don't allow him to go out because we are worried and see the danger as he is not clear enough to avoid accidents. All children are good to begin with. My wife thinks parents should make the decisions and children should just do as they are told. Some fathers beat their children; not I, never. My wife questions the children all the time, and she used to beat them. She is stricter than I am; she hits, and then in the next moment she forgives'.

Irene added:

> When I was younger, my mother belted me, not Father. Both my parents hope that I will marry in one or two years; Mother insisted that it must be a Greek from their island and I will live close to them. Father has broached the subject several times, and I somehow suspect that a marriage is being negotiated.

Twenty-year-old Steven said: 'All my mates are Australian. We were all at school together and social life got me. I was slack in my schoolwork, and I was missing out on classes, going to discos. My parents disapproved when the discos started about three years ago. I loved the soul music, and when I heard it I just wanted to dance. I had it out with my parents. They would prefer my friends to be different, but they leave it to me'. Twenty-year-old Con said: 'I haven't much chance to go out, but when I do, I take my sister. She never goes outside the house by herself. My mother wanted her to marry not just a Greek boy; he had to be from our island. A few boys showed interest, and they asked my parents, who refused because they were not from the right region'. Twenty-two-year-old Tim commented: 'My friends are all Greek guys. Some of them

thought I was Australian, and I didn't think that that was such a good thing. I like Australian girls better. We were at school together, and we can plan what we do next week, and you can't do that with Greek chicks'. Twenty-year-old Steven said: 'We are different, our attitude to life is different. At school all my mates were Greek. Even though I am not in the Greek community, and I don't like some of the Greeks, I like Greeks as a nation. When I went to Greece, I did not like the people there. But here my best friends are my cousins, and we are always together'. Twenty-two-year-old Tony stated: 'All my mates are Greek. We go out together. We laugh at the same things. We can't do this with Australians or any other nationality'.

Though relationships with Australians have been established, some are temporary. Others persist a longer time, but few, if any, are thought of as meaningful. Greeks perceive them as abortive and superficial encounters, and the school, where ready-made choices are possible, appears to provide only an opportunity for strengthening and reinforcing the closeness of Greeks. Considering that 53 fathers (49.6 per cent) and 42 mothers (39.2 per cent) had over 14 years of residence, when I asked for a statement of priorities on a three-point scale, 87 sets of parents put family ahead (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: **Parents and children's assessment of priorities**

	Parents		*Children*	
	n	%	*n*	%
Family	87	93.5	79	85.0
Modification of norms	2	2.2	13	14.0
Church	4	4.3	1	1.1

In the earlier fieldwork, 34 children (31.8 per cent) placed sport, TV viewing, relationships outside family and home, less parental supervision, ahead of the importance of the family; the importance of family was the choice of 28 children (26.2 per cent). Recently 79 children (85 per cent) placed most importance on the family demonstrating a considerable strengthening of orientation towards family. This possibly indicates the children's reinforced faith in the supportive role of family, and having weighed up throughout their years of schooling and living in Australia, the assistance provided by school, teachers, peer groups at school, contacts at work and with neighbours, found the family less threatening. Even though at times they criticised parental orders and discipline, they rated family as most important in the educational and occupational spectrum. George, 22, said: 'Believe me, I'm having a good time when I sit at home with my sister's kids and play my favourite records'. But there are reservations concerning loyalty and love for the immediate family. Helen, aged 17, said: 'If I had a problem, I couldn't go and talk with them. They wouldn't understand. But I wouldn't swap my parents for any others. They were brought up differently, so I'd go and talk to my friends, or an aunt'. Toula, 18, remarked:

> I don't mind how strict my parents are. You do get a lot out of it. My mother was brought up in the Greek tradition and refers to it all the time. She doesn't understand how we feel about things. Those of us who are born here she thinks are slightly different, but she still refuses to accept Australian ways. 'I wasn't allowed to do this when I was your age', she

says. She's aware of changes, but she somehow does and doesn't accept them. She qualifies everything by saying, 'What are the other people going to say?' [When I spoke with Toula, I noticed the objections she was raising, the disadvantages of a close Greek community, were those of which her mother was aware seven years ago.] Some Greeks I don't mind, but others talk on. They are gossips and can't help themselves: 'Look what she's wearing, look what she has on, look at the colour of her stockings', they say.

And Mother:

> I must blame myself for Toula's attitude; I was hoping differently. I don't really think that moving away did us any good. I was hoping that Toula would mix with Greeks, but she has one Australian friend and I dislike the way she dresses and follows the hippie ways. Toula goes around with her. She drives in the car. They go out together, buy clothes. She seems so changed.

Toula was working out her position, but felt guilty: 'It's wrong not to tell Mother, and I'd like to tell her, but she screams, "I'll tell your Father", so I don't tell her any more'. (Toula's mother, in the earlier study, was one of the two Greek women who modified the Greek social ethic for herself, defying the local community by wearing lipstick and going to the local R.S.L. club, after driving her children to school, with her Australian neighbour. She prided herself at that time on going out with her husband and not taking the children with them as was the custom amongst the Greeks.)

Eighteen-year-old Steven is the only one who rated the Church first on his list of preferences. He explained:

> At first I wanted to forget that I'm Greek, though I did not make friends easily. I didn't go to Sunday school or church. I made excuses, and my father allowed me to do so. When I turned 17, my father said, 'Now that you are older go and see for yourself'. I went to church, and from the beginning I was accepted and felt very much at home. All the people there had similar interests, even though our backgrounds differed. We were all at different schools, all subjected to one or other kind of discrimination. I don't believe in punching out my freedom. Now the basis of my life is what the Church teaches me, what I read together with my spiritual father. Truth means orthodoxy to me; we follow directions, all males, we go on picnics and spiritual retreat; and I am close to God. I am trying to do my best by what the Church says and the Bible.

Thirteen children (14 per cent) believed there were some aspects of Australian life which could be incorporated into the Greek tradition without much imbalance, but when questioned further their view of the priority of the family was in no way diminished. Statements invariably contained *if's* and *but's*, pointing to uncertainty as yet of membership of the adult community. Chris, when asked whether he would like to see the importance of the family becoming less significant when he married and had children, replied 'Not necessarily at all'. Twenty-one-year-old John said: 'Even though I married an Australian, I would not'; and 20-year-old Mary remarked: 'Only if my parents did'.

Bearing in mind the children's assertion about the prominence of the family, I asked, what of the reality of maintaining the Greek tradition? (see Table 7.3).

The replies in the second category indicated two main desires for change: a decrease or lifting of parental social controls, and an extension of personal freedom. While people's references emphasised the form and extent of change, when asked for guidelines, they seemed to be wanting extensive restrictions for their own children, and in essence were repeating what their parents had said seven years before. Joanna, 18, married, said: 'Yes, but different. I wouldn't be as strict as my parents as long as I knew whom the children are going out to see. If I know their parents, it's O.K.' Soula, 18, married, asserted: 'While I live with my parents and have children, I'll teach my children what my parents taught me, and when they are grown up it is up to them'. Joanna's father added: 'I know they'll do everything I taught them while I'm alive'.

Mary, 18 years old, commented: 'I don't know what I'd do, but I wouldn't force them. But I suppose they would never do wrong things'. Seventeen-year-old Toula stated: 'I don't agree with my mother holding me back from social contact. I'd give them more freedom'. Maria, 17, said, 'Not really. I will let them go out, not with boys but with girls, if I know that they are good'. Joanna, 20 years old, commented: 'No. I wanted to go on and finish school. I wanted to go out to see what it is like outside home and family. But they married me off instead'. Denise, 22 years old, said: 'I'll give them the same education, but when they reach 16 or 18 I would allow them a little more freedom, to go out a little more'. Mary, 21 years old, stated: 'Of course, first they have to learn the Greek language, the same as my parents did for me. It all paid off'. Helen, 22 and married, said:

> I am grateful to my parents for what seems to me to pay off, especially when I am looking for a job. They always say I am trustworthy and of good character. You have no idea how many girls get the sack. They are not up to standard in the boss's eyes. Mind you, I didn't like it at the time, all the restrictions—not even to the pictures with friends—that was unfair as you are growing up. They didn't push me to the limit. Some parents arrange marriages for their daughters. They were not Nazi-like, not just yes or no. Mostly they were cautious and over-protective. That was the way it was done in their country, and they are set in their ways and know no difference. It's up to us to change and make them see our way. It's very taxing. I wouldn't like to go through the 13–17 years again; everything was a struggle.

Table 7.3: **Maintenance of Greek tradition: children**

	n	%
Yes	52	55.9
In moderated form	36	38.7
Not at all	5	5.4

Susan, aged 22, commented: 'I respect my parents, but Father does not respect his daughters. He treats us like babies, and we are women. He treats his sons like men, and they are only boys'. Mick, 22, said: 'Yes, I would follow all they taught me, but there will be a big difference. I will be able to help a little more; I will be able to participate in what they're doing at school. After all, I've been through the system. When I was in primary school, I said to my father, 'Teacher said for you to help me play football'. Neither he nor I knew what football was about, and when I came to school everyone laughed at me when I said it'. Nick, 22, stated: 'As far as parents go, I would like to be as good a parent as they were to me. I didn't take advantage of it, but it worked O.K. with me'. Eighteen-year-old Mary commented: 'I can see their point of view. I don't really blame them. When you are strict, you are sure what the kids are doing. But I think I'd give my children more freedom, and once in a while I'd allow them to go out. I don't believe in young marriages. I'd have liked a little more freedom, but I still like it the way it is and I would work hard to maintain it in the same way'. Eighteen-year-old Helen said: 'I love the way my mother brought us up and the way she told us what was right and wrong, and I'd fall in with it. She always tells us that it is good to go to church and we are very close'. Twenty-one-year-old Steven said: 'I am bound to the Greek way of life. I married an Australian but we were married in a Greek Orthodox church. She speaks Greek and phones my mother at least once a week and speaks to her in Greek. As to my children, I would do anything my parents taught me until I know they can think for themselves. But they will try and

keep what suits us and them'. Twenty-year-old George remarked: 'Yes, to an extent, being of Greek heritage, there are some aspects of my culture I'd like to see maintained. The children must learn they belong to the European culture, and I would guide them, but not as strictly as my father did. We had little say in what went on'. Twenty-one-year-old John stated:

> I want to see my family grow up in the Greek tradition. I've known the best of both worlds, and I know what I want of life. Now a few of us go to the pub, have drinks and speak Greek, if you call that assimilation. I feel very proud to be Greek, and I never back down from telling people that I am Greek, even if conversation is hostile to migrants. I am Greek first, and whatever I am, I am next. I do not belong to a Greek club. I don't need to. Some belong to the Greek club at the university. They are banding together. This is good, but not everyone has to be together to feel Greek. I am traditionally a Greek-thinking person, and I can't help being Greek.

There is evidence also of rejection of traditional norms by five children (see Table 7.3). Seventeen-year-old Mary said: 'No, not the way my parents treat me. I would not give this to any of my children. I will let them out when they are 15. I would at least let them go to school things'. Twenty-one-year-old Michael commented: 'I would not like my children to follow all the rules that are laid down by my parents for me'. Eighteen-year-old Coula stated: 'No, I don't like the way the parents of a friend of mine gave her no option. They just brought this guy home and told her he was the one she would marry. I would really mind if that happened to me'. Eighteen-year-old Steven argued: 'You can't remain just Greek if you live here. Once you understand the people, it's O.K. I wouldn't talk to my parents about it, but times have changed. The old Greek ways their parents introduced will disappear with my parents' generation. I don't see it their way, not what my parents say of life. This is not Greece and I would rather do my own thing'.

These five deviant cases emphasise a hesitancy that qualifies the statements of the 36 children (38.7 per cent) who reported acceptance of traditional behaviour with perhaps some modification in peer and social choices, and marriage. In addition, only one child believed that insistence on the maintenance of tradition would disappear with his parents' generation.

I cannot forecast with any degree of certainty which view is the indicator for the future, but the following statements appear to reflect my group more accurately. Peter, still at school, remarked: 'I'm proud of being Greek'.

> I know some guys and girls who say, 'My parents are Greek, but I'm Australian'. They are embarrassed or ashamed about being Greek, and sometimes I say to them, 'You will always be Greek to them'.

Nick recalled an incident that occurred while he was at school:

> I went to the Youth of the Year Contest in Form 5. The other district schools sent three Aussies each. We all fronted up to the judges, and one of them turned to me: 'You're a new Australian'. I replied, 'I am not an Australian, sir; I am Greek'. During the supper, this man was worried. He kept looking at me and eventually came up to me and said, 'I'm not quite sure, lad. Did I understand you? Did you say you were Greek?'.

In this sense, Moskos's findings (1977: 71) '. . . when we measure ourselves against our progenitors, are we not more bland—God forbid—more plastic?', sound rather hollow.

There was no evidence in my research that the children saw their choices as being simply Greek or Australian.[1] Rather they were ingesting aspects of their Greek culture and tradition within everyday life in Australia.

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[1]This partly supports the notion propounded by Vlachos (1968: 187) as it applies to third generation Greeks in the United States, identifying 'a new composite, the *Greek-American culture*'.

8. Conclusion

The main findings suggest that interaction of Greek parents and children at work and school is minimal in the established social life of the community. Taft and Cahill (1978: 63) have noted that of South American, British and Maltese families, the British preferred to live in Australia, while the others became 'less contented and less satisfied' the longer they remained here. Among the Greeks, talks of visits or return to the home country dominate discourse.

In my earlier study, parents and children at work attempted to establish social contact with fellow-workers and failed. Children's relationships at school were similar: associations developed at infants level, but rarely matured beyond primary grades, so that the senior years reflected the immigrant–Australian dichotomy of a distinctly dual subculture based on mutual distrust and hostility. Out of class, Greeks associate with other Greeks; they spend their leisure with various relatives or elected kin (Isaacs 1976: 98) or at regional outings, and many parents overtly discourage association with Australians. Some researchers support these trends to be valid for other groupings. Connell et al. (1975: 262) recorded that South Italians, Asians and North Italians considered immigrant background 'a positive advantage in a friend' and that 'immigrants tend to stick together both in and out of school'. Bourke and Keeves (1977: 177) found that 'migrant students were also less likely to be well accepted socially at school'.

My results indicate that principles insisted upon at school do not build on the socialisation of the child begun at home, nor do they develop or extend it. Connell et al. (1975: 222) cite the school as selecting 'a scholarly type to which it accords success'. One of the selection criteria is the intelligence quotient, which as a diagnostic measure, fails to take account of the differences of non-English-speaking background. As satisfactory culture-free tests do not exist, children whose English linguistic experience is inferior do not achieve a score validly assessing their potential, and few qualify for the 'scholarly type', despite their ability, motivation and application (Isaacs 1976: 93). Another criterion is the accreditation given by public examinations. Results are attributed to teachers' competence. Poor performance of pupils from non-English-speaking backgrounds does not help the struggle for promotion of teachers who, in the furtherance of their own interests, in the words of the pupils, tend to ignore those who contribute insignificantly to the climb up the elevation ladder, and whose educational future is thereby inhibited. In addition, they are obviously at a disadvantage wherever these factors are regarded as predictors of occupational status. The children and their parents, however, disregard the disparity of school forecasts and their personal assessment, and continue at school (see Martin & Meade 1979: 16 for similar findings in Yugoslavian, Italian and Lebanese groups).

It is generally conceded that Greeks are under-represented at tertiary levels of education. One of the main reasons advanced by school authorities is the parents' unwillingness to see the children through the educational process, harnessing them into the workforce. While parents admonish children to study, they crowd their day with household chores and related trivia. The children's school performance does not suffer merely as a result of this. Some parents insist that they leave and join the labour market; some children attend school and perform paid jobs in local stores to supplement family income. However, some of the reasons for their 'not making it' are the self-perpetuating, inbuilt discriminatory factors in texts, test material and administrator and teacher attitudes. Those now at school, and those who recall their days there, quote instances of the teachers' disregard of their presence in class, belittling attempts at argument and downgrading them. Turney et al. (1978: Chapter

8) indicate that the inner city schools can be unsatisfactory places, not only for Greeks, but for anyone in them, including Anglo-Australians.

In this study, 50 per cent of pupils had repeated final year at school in an effort to obtain matriculation, and failed. Their parents urged them to stay at school, regarding the entry to a university as automatically following the end of secondary schooling. Their aspirations for the children's educational and occupational future were high: 52.3 per cent of parents aimed at professional status for sons; 29.9 per cent, for daughters (Isaacs 1976: 103). The children's more realistic appraisal of probabilities revealed 13.1 per cent of girls and 24.3 per cent of boys aiming at the Higher School Certificate, and 11.2 per cent of the former and 14.9 per cent of the latter seeking professions.

These findings support other investigations. Taft (1975: 42) noted a marked discrepancy in aspirations in educational levels of males and females from non-English-speaking backgrounds, where almost all of the males (89 per cent) planned further studies on leaving school compared with 59 per cent of females. Martin and Meade (1979: 16) recorded parents from non-English-speaking countries having high educational aspirations for their children, Greeks forming the largest group (84 per cent). The comparative percentages with the Australian group (48 per cent) were: 68 per cent for Yugoslavs, 69 per cent for Italians and 70 per cent for Lebanese. Connell et al. (1975: 247) found a high level of aspiration in Asian students and upward educational aspirations in South Italians, but fewer second generation immigrants than Australians staying on to the end of secondary schooling.

The parents' high aspirations recorded in the initial study may not have been the real voicing of their hopes—though for many of them it was—but symbols of anxiety and fear lest the children end up in an unskilled labourer's job. The children's ten years of school attendance meant long working hours and overtime for the parents as well as a load of multiple undertakings. They were puzzled at the children's low levels of literacy and numeracy (compare the results of Turney et al. [1978: 79] as to parents' perception of shortcomings in specific subjects) and at the lengthy time of schooling without any obvious assurance of future benefits, especially when they compared their own levels of education—36.5 per cent of fathers and 43.0 per cent of mothers had had up to four years of school attendance, while 9.3 per cent of fathers and 18.7 per cent of mothers had none (Isaacs 1976: 31). They registered dismay when in some instances they were compelled to recommend and assist their children, on completion of secondary schooling, to obtain a substandard job in the semi-skilled category. Nevertheless, evidence in the follow-up reveals that the children generally have begun to move out of their parents' low occupational entrance status. It is too early to speculate on their entry into a professional or managerial rank, though the retention rate at secondary school beyond the compulsory school-leaving age of 15 years is higher in the follow-up than in the initial study. It is also clear from the children's replies that hostility and lack of assistance at school do not affect their motivation or application to study, nor their faith that the goals they had set themselves are within their reach: 4.3 per cent of boys and 5.4 per cent of girls, after leaving school, have attempted to obtain more education, and 16.4 per cent of the former and 7.5 per cent of the latter are at present pursuing a full-time course at technical college, leading to a skilled occupation. The unskilled category accounts for 15.1 per cent of male and 12.9 per cent of female children, compared with 69.2 per cent men and 64.5 per cent women in the initial study.

The indifference, exclusion and rejection the parents and children experience at all levels of contact within the local society return them to institutions legitimated in their village which they neglected in the early years of settlement in Australia. This is evident in the follow-up study in the perception people have of the significance of

these institutions. In the initial study I recorded parents' and children's antagonism against anything that the Church organised, in particular the after-school Greek classes; in the later study people presented a strong case for their retention. One of the reasons for this change could be the institution by the Church of educational and welfare programs, with the assistance of young committed undergraduates. These youths have undertaken the education of those still at school, making the Church a focal point of educational and religious significance.

The data suggest that the parental management of tradition has resulted in the children's acceptance of the proposition that the maintenance and preservation of familial and social norms are to be handed on to future generations with few modifications. The parents and kin are principal referents; the family and observance of tradition hold priority status.

Appendix A

Questionnaires: parts 1 and 2

In part 1, I administered three questionnaires (interview schedules): A to the father, B to the mother and C to the pupil. For computer purposes the parent questionnaires were collapsed into one—AB—and the parent and pupil responses were coded and entered on two 80-column coding sheets. I have discussed in the text most of the questions and the rationale for their inclusion. The full schedule A appears below and the alterations in schedules B and C are shown as differences from schedule A.

In schedule B, question 6.1 was deleted and the one added was directed to women in the labour force: it aimed to establish who looked after pre-school children (wherever applicable) during working hours. Minor changes were also made in the wording to delete obvious sex differentiation.

The C schedule retains areas VII, VIII, IX and X. The background section in C includes length of schooling in Greece, if applicable, the role of the godfather/godmother, the appraisal of parent reminiscences of pre-migration life patterns and home jobs allocation and pocket money.

In the area of educational and vocational goals, questions concern assistance given by pupils to parents and relatives in English language communication; peer choices at school and outside, and parent attitudes to these; appraisal of Greek school; and evaluation of the comparative importance of Greek and English language. The basic data section contains relevant details of years of schooling in Australia, pupil's current grade and school, standardised English usage test results, assessed I.Q.s and class teachers' professional estimates of pupil's ability.

In part 2, I administered two questionnaires (interview schedules): C1 to the children and A1 to the parents, the latter being adjusted for father and mother and subsequently collapsed for the purpose of analysis. Methodology and analysis followed the same principles as in earlier fieldwork. The full schedule C1 follows interview schedule A, and alterations occur as variations from schedule C1.

The parents' schedule contained their place in the workforce; assessment of children's schooling generally; peer choices and preferences; appraisal of their own position and the children's achievement. Part 1 provided relevant information for the basic data section and whenever necessary, as indicated.

Interview schedule A

Area I: Background to migration

1 How did you happen to think of coming to Australia?

2 Why did you come to Australia?

3 How was your journey financed?
(if 'sponsored', probe relationship of sponsor and the year of his arrival in Australia)

4 Who of your family came to Australia with you at that time?
(if S, respondent, married in Greece and there is no mention of wife in his answer, probe year of wife's arrival in Australia?

(5.1 and 5.2 are for those who arrived in Australia as members of immigrant family units)

5.1 Think back to the time when you came to Australia: who of your family arrived at that time together with you?

5.2 Do you know how it all started? Who first thought of coming to Australia?

Area II: S's family network in Australia

6.1 Tell me about your family: you, your wife, your son(s), daughters(s) . . . (probe the other children's ages, their occupation or grade at school and their residence)

6.2 Have you any brothers, sisters and/or relatives in Australia?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe where they live and the year of their migration)

Area III: Environment

7.1 Let us talk about the ownership of this house: Are you the owner or are you renting it?
(if 'own', then ask 7.2, if 'rent', probe whether S rents the entire house or part of it)

7.2 Have you paid it off or are you paying it off?
(probe if S is sole owner or is the house in joint ownership; establish identity of co-owner)

8.1 Who else besides you, your wife and your child (children) lives here?
(probe: boarders, rent-payers, relatives—boarders and/or rent-payers; boarders, but non-paying; nationality of the residents; number of families—number of adults and number of children)

8.2 What do you and your family share with the other residents here?
(kitchen, bathroom, toilet, living area, play area)

9.1 How does this house compare with the one at . . . (place where S lived prior to his migration)

9.2 Did you own the house you lived in?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe ownership of house if 'no', and conditions of occupancy)

10.1 How do you like living in this house?
(probe S's attitude to the house and the district; the size and quality of the living area and play area for the children)

10.2 Is this the only place you lived in since you came to Australia?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', probe previous residential district(s) and relationship to the owner of the house)

10.3 Would you like to move from here?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer; if 'yes' ascertain district of choice)

Area IV: Occupational

11.1 Are you working at present?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes' establish specificity of work and whether S is self-employed, working full time or part time; if 'no' probe reasons for unemployment)

11.2 The work you are doing at present: Is it the same sort of thing that you have been doing since you came to Australia?

(a) yes (b) no
(probe what other jobs S held if 'no' reasons for termination of employment and nationality of employer and co-workers)

12.1 What kind of work did you do at . . . (permanent address before S's departure from Greece)?
(probe exact occupation)

12.2 Which gave you more pleasure: what you did there, or what you are doing now?
(probe reasons)

Area V: Educational

13.1 Let us talk about your education: How much schooling do you have?
(probe if education continued in Australia, and level reached)

13.2 How many years did you spend at school in Greece?

13.3 Was it the same for your brothers and sisters?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no' probe in what way was it different)

14.1 Did you learn English before coming to Australia?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe where)

14.2 Are you learning English now?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe where and reasons for either answer)

Area VI: Educational and vocational goals for children

15.1 Let us talk about your child's (children's) education and future: You know about the education system in New South Wales—the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate and the legal school-leaving age and what all this means for the future of your child (children)?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe to ascertain the degree of familiarity)

15.2 Do you know that schoolchildren have homework to do?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe time, in hours, child (children) spends (spend) on homework, every day; supervision, if any; where it is done and when)

16.1 What would you like your son (daughter) to do when he (she) leaves school?
(probe level of educational aspiration and career expectations)

16.2 Would you want the same for your daughter (son)?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', probe in what way different)

17 Do you think it is important for your son (daughter) to study?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe the importance of study for son and daughter and reasons)

18 Would it have been the same had you stayed in Greece?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', probe in what way different)

19 As a father, what would have given you more pleasure: what your children are doing now, or what they might have done had they stayed in Greece?

Area VII: Ethnic identification

20.1 Does your child (do your children) attend Greek school?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe fee, the attitude of the child (children) towards attendance and, if applicable, reasons for non-attendance)

20.2 How would you feel if there were no Greek school available?
(probe reasons)

21.1 You are (you are not)—(from 14.2)—learning English at present. Are there occasions when you have to speak English to communicate?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe when)

22.1 Do you mind if the children speak English at home—among themselves, or to their friends—and Greek to you?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

22.2 Do you ever speak Greek to the children (child) and get an answer in English?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe occasions and action S takes)

23.1 Do you ever meet Australians socially?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe occasions when such meetings occur)

23.2 Have you ever invited an Australian to your home or have you ever been invited to an Australian home?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe occasions)

23.3 If you were to write to someone in Greece what Australians are like, what would you say?

24.1 Would you mind if your son (daughter) invited Australians home?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe desirability of other than Greek nationality friendships and reasons for any answer)

24.2 Would you mind, if your son (daughter) married an Australian?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe desirability of marriage with other-than-Greek or Australian)

24.3 Is there anyone in your family who did not marry a Greek?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe the nationality of the spouse and S's evaluation of such a marriage)

24.4 Is there a particular nationality that most Greeks would not like to marry into?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe whom)

25.1 Are you a naturalised Australian subject?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', probe S's willingness to become an Australian citizen and reasons)

25.2 Would you mind if your children became naturalised?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

26.1 Do you belong to a brotherhood?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe position in the organisational structure, frequency of attendance)

26.2 Do you belong to an association or group either Greek or Australian?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe membership [ordinary or executive], attendance)

Area VIII: Leisure and recreation

27.1 What do you do when you come home from work?

27.2 What do you do on Saturdays and Sundays?

27.3 When you buy your provisions, do you shop in Greek shops?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

28.1 Do you and your family go visiting/are you visited during the week? Saturdays? Sundays?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe frequency of visits, if applicable, and occasions)

28.2 What happens to your child's homework when you go visiting or when visitors arrive?

28.3 What about your neighbours: Do you have much contact with them?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe nationality of neighbours and differences in friendship formations with other-than-Greek groups, if applicable)

Area IX: Mass media

29.1 Let us talk about watching television and listening to the radio: During the week, how many hours would you say you are watching television and/or listening to the radio?
(probe Saturday and Sunday in addition; favourite programs)

29.2 Which newspapers and magazines do you read?
(probe where the reading material is published, language of publication and reasons for subscription)

Area X: Church affiliation

30.1 Do you go to church at Christmas, New Year, Easter, important name-days, christenings, marriages and funerals?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe occasions and with whom S attends; if 'no', probe reasons for non-attendance)

Area XI: National identification and discrimination

31.1 Describe to me what it feels like to be Greek?
(This question had to be reworded to 'Are you proud to be Greek?'.)
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

31.2 Have you ever been made unhappy in Australia because you are Greek?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe incident(s), when and where occurred)

31.3 Do you know anyone who was made to feel unhappy in Australia because he/she is Greek?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe person(s) concerned, incident(s) and when and where it (they) occurred)

Area XII: Assessment of priorities

32.1 One last question: Of all things you do, what gives you most pleasure?

Area XIII: Basic data

Place of birth
Place where marriage took place
Age at marriage
Year of arrival in Australia
Age on arrival in Australia
Sex and sample identification
Subject identification
Household identification

Interview schedule C1

Area I: Marital status

1.1 Are you (a) single, (b) engaged to be married, (c) married, (d) divorced, (e) other?

Area II: Residential

2.1 Since I spoke to you when you were in primary/secondary (whichever applies) you have/you have not moved?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe whether move was to own, rented or partially paid off residence; whether it was towards other Greeks, relatives or away from these)

2.2 Are your neighbours (in the block S lives at present and the nearest one on the other side) mostly Greek?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe for nationalities nearby: (i) mostly Greeks, (ii) other immigrants, (iii)

mostly Greeks and other immigrants, (iv) Greeks, immigrants and Australians, (v) mostly Australians

2.3 Have you much contact with your neighbours?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe which of these neighbours S knows personally and their nationality)

2.4 Do you live with
(a) your parents, (b) parents-in-law, (c) on your own, (d) other?

3.1 Have you a car?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe who owns it; whether it is jointly owned—with whom?)

3.2 Have you a phone?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', probe reason(s))

Area III: Educational

4.1 Let us talk about education: Are you studying at present?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', ascertain reasons; if 'yes', then ask as follows)

4.2 Where are you studying?
(a) at secondary school, (b) at technical college, full time, (c) working and studying part time, (d) at university or other tertiary institution, (e) other

Questions 5, 6 and 7 apply to those no longer at school.

5.1 Why did you leave school (or relevant institution)?
(probe)

5.2 When did you leave school?
(probe levels reached and whether before public examinations: the School Certificate, the Higher School Certificate)

6.1 Did you seek advice as to leaving school?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe who gave advice and from whom S sought it)

6.2 At the time of leaving, did you want to stay longer at school?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

7.1 Since you left school did you make any attempt(s) to obtain more education?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', ask 7.2; if 'no' probe reasons)

7.2 How many times did you try to go back to study?
(probe attempts and the success of these)

The following questions are directed to all children and adjusted slightly in the wording for those still at school:

8.1 Let us talk about the time that you attended school. In what way were the teachers
(a) helpful, (b) not helpful (c) apathetic (d) other?

8.2 Was (were) any particular teacher(s) helpful?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe details of assistance)

9.1 What about the pupils: How do you remember them in the context of giving help?
(probe details)

9.2 Do you remember anyone in particular who was ready to come forward when you were in difficulty?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe details of background of the peer who assisted)

10.1 When you were at school did you want to study a subject(s) which was (were) not available at school?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe which subject(s); attempts made to study it (them) at school, to transfer or by correspondence)

10.2 What about information on courses: How much of that was available and given to you pupils?
(probe)

10.3 What about information on requirements to further education: How readily was it given?
(probe for details)

10.4 Did you experience any difficulties at school?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe areas of difficulties and details; if 'no', then ask as for 'yes', 10.4)

10.5 What about English. Did you have any difficulties in that subject?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe areas of difficulty and details)

Questions 11.1 and 11.2 are directed to those no longer at school and at school, respectively.

11.1 Could you say whether you have had enough schooling for what you are doing now?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', then probe intentions to continue schooling at some time)

11.2 Could you say whether you are at present studying subjects bearing directly on what you want to do in the future?
(a) yes (b) no

11.3 How did you find the choice of subjects for what you really wanted to do at school?
(a) good (b) satisfactory (c) restricted (d) other?

12.1 We have talked about subjects, pupils: What about the teachers? How did you find them?
(probe)

12.2 Your school had so many pupils who came from non-English-speaking backgrounds: How did the teachers react to this?
(a) generally helpful (b) unable to cope (c) lack of interest (d) damaging (e) other?

13.1 Could you now say what you think of the schooling you have received (you are receiving)?
(a) good (b) satisfactory (c) unsatisfactory (d) other
(probe details)

13.2 Direct this question to those who are no longer at school: How did the schooling assist you in what you are doing now?
(probe details)

13.3 How do you think schooling may be improved?
(comment freely)

Area IV: Occupational

The following questions are directed to those no longer at school:

14.1 You are no longer at school?
(a) yes (b) no

14.2 Are you working at present?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe the type of work—in detail, whether self-employed; if 'no', ask reasons and type of work when in employment)

14.3 Could you describe the work you are doing?
(probe type of work, conditions, nationality of employer; if relevant, also fellow-workers)

14.4 Are you happy in this employment?
(a) yes (b) no
(in either case, probe reasons, duration of present job, and frequency of work changes)

14.5 Could you place your liking for the job you are doing at present in one of the following categories:
(a) good (b) satisfactory (c) unsatisfactory (d) other
(probe details in each category)

Area V: Leisure and recreation

15.1 What do you do when you come home from school/work?
(a) school (b) work
(probe details in activities, nationality of after-school/after-work peers, if applicable)

15.2 What do you do on Saturdays and Sundays?
(probe)

15.3 Do you and your family go visiting/are you visited during the week? Saturdays? Sundays)
(probe visits, who the visitors are, occasions)

The next question is directed to those at school.

15.4 What happens to your homework when you are visiting or when visitors arrive?
(comment freely)

15.5 What kind of entertainment do you like?
(comment freely)

16.1 Do you like going out with your family?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons in either case)

Area VI: Identification with Greek social and educational institutions

17.1 Do you belong to a brotherhood?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe if it is one of S's background; also the position S holds in the organisational structure, frequency of attendance and with whom he/she attends; if 'no', ask reasons)

17.2 Do you attend social functions of either Greek or Australian associations?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe membership, hierarchical position in the association, frequency of attendance and with whom S attends)

17.3 You used to like/dislike (information from previous data) to attend social functions at the Club with your parents and cousins: Do you enjoy these now?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

18.1 Do you remember the Greek classes after school? You used to like/not to like (information from earlier fieldwork) attending. Looking back, how would you describe your feelings now about them?
(comment freely)

18.2 How much time, do you think, should the schoolchildren devote to these classes?
(probe for specific time)

18.3 Would you like to see the classes kept on?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

18.4 How important is it for you personally to have these classes kept on?
(comment freely)

18.5 Would you like to see these classes become a part of the State schools?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

18.6 Could you suggest any changes for the better in these classes?
(probe details)

18.7 What in your opinion would be the advantages/disadvantages if the classes became a part of the local school system?
(probe for details)

19.1 Let us talk about your knowledge of the Greek language: Do you speak Greek?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', then ask 19.2)

19.2 Do you speak English, or Greek, at home?
(probe if one or both languages are spoken at home, who speaks which language and to whom)

19.3 Do you have to help your family with English?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe who needs this help—frequency and occasions)

The next two questions are directed to those at work.

19.4 What language(s) do you speak at work?
(comment freely)

19.5 Are there English language classes at work?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe frequency, cost, times of instruction, attendance; if 'no', probe reasons as well as attitude to such a service, if initiated)

Area VII: Church affiliation

20.1 You used to/used not to (information from earlier fieldwork) go to church. What about now: Do you attend any services?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe which services, how frequently and with whom S attends; if 'no', probe reasons for non-attendance).

Area VIII: Attitudes to Greece and Australia

21.1 Are you a naturalised Australian subject?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe: By virtue of what?, if 'no', probe reasons for this and future intentions)

21.2 Have you been to Greece in the last seven years?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe attitude to return and possible resettlement; if 'no', probe future plans)

21.3 Do you still have relatives in Greece?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe communication with them and then ask 21.4)

21.4 Do you write to your relatives and generally keep in touch?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe how S describes Australians and life here)

22.1 You've lived in Australia . . . years/you were born in Australia (information obtained from earlier fieldwork): Have you any *real* Australian friends?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', then ask next question)

22.2 Do your parents mind if you invite the Australian friend(s) home?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe details and instances of invitation and reception)

22.3 Is it the same for any friend of non-Greek background?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe for either answer)

23.1 Would you marry an Australian?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'no', probe if any such marriage occurred within the last seven years in S's family)

23.2 Would you marry a non-Greek, other than an Australian?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer: nationality preferences and an evaluation of such a marriage)

23.3 Is there a nationality in particular that most Greeks would not like to marry into?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe reasons for either answer)

Area IX: Mass media

24.1 Let us talk about watching television and listening to radio: Do you have television in your house?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe programs, frequency and days of the week when S watches; if 'no' probe reasons)

24.2 Do you listen to the radio?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe programs, frequency and time when S listens; if 'no', probe reasons)

24.3 Do you read newspapers, magazines?
(a) yes (b) no
(if both are read, probe language of publications, where these are published and reasons for subscription [the same applies if only one of these is mentioned]; if 'no', probe reasons why not)

Area X: National identification and discrimination

25.1 You are/are not naturalised (from question 21.1).
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', then ask 25.2)

25.2 Has it made any difference at all in any sense to you in any way that you have become an Australian citizen?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe details for any changes, if relevant)

26.1 You thought that Australians disliked the Greeks (data obtained from earlier fieldwork); and now: Do you think the Australians like/dislike the Greeks?
(a) yes (b) no
(probe for either answer)

26.2 Have you personally experienced discrimination?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe where, instances of practices: (i) at school, (ii) those no longer at school in retrospect and at work, (iii) other)

26.3 Has anyone in your family been subjected to discrimination?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe whom, circumstances, frequ[illegible] and nature of the discriminatory practices)

27.1 Did you ever think that you were discriminated against just on account of being Greek or simply for being of non-Australian background?
(comment freely)

27.2 Do you know anyone who was made to feel unhappy simply on account of being Greek?
(a) yes (b) no
(if 'yes', probe instances and frequency as well as circumstances)

Area XI: Assessment of priorities and position reached

28.1 Tell me: Of all the things you do, what gives you most pleasure?
(probe)

28.2 The way you were brought up, your parents' way of life: Would you like the same things for your children?
(a) yes (b) no (c) other
(probe for modification if not stated)

29.1 One last question: What you are doing now, the way you live and spend your time: Is that what you hoped it would be like when I spoke to you seven years ago/when you left Greece to emigrate to Australia (whichever applicable)?

Appendix B

Enrolment procedures in State schools in New South Wales

The enrolment of a child in the infants grades at State schools could (until the end of 1970) be effected at the beginning of the term in which the child reached the age of five years. According to the notice appearing in the Education Gazette No. 7, 17 November 1970:

> All children who will be five years of age prior to the 1st of August, 1971 will be eligible for enrolment in the infants grades of public schools as they attain the age of four years and nine months. Such children may be enrolled on the first Wednesday at the first school term and thereafter until 30th April. With the exception of children transferring from one school to another and those of statutory age (six years), there will be no enrolment in infants grades in public schools during the second and third terms of 1971. It has been found that children enrolled during these two periods are invariably required to remain in the infants grades in the following year and this often has a psychological effect deterimental to their progress during the early formative years in the infants grades.

Transfers at primary and infants grades level, as a result of change of address, are effected by the schools concerned.

Secondary school placement in the metropolitan area is effected on the basis on the pupil's address on completion of primary school and upon the recommendation of the assessment committee, consisting of the district inspector, school principal (in some schools the class teacher participates) and district school counsellor. The pupil enters an area secondary school that meets his or her intellectual and educational needs—the rationale behind every placement.

Pupils from non-English-speaking countries, whose residence in Australia does not exceed four years, are given a non-verbal intelligence test as part of the general assessment program; for those born in Australia (irrespective of parental origin) or those whose residence in Australia exceeds four years, two group verbal intelligence tests are normally administered in Fourth and Sixth grades and from these the intelligence quotient is derived. This is added to the scale score, based on school performance, to give a co-ordinated mark that becomes one of the determinants in secondary school placement.

The system does not distinguish between Australian-born pupils with an Australian background and Australian-born pupils with a non-English-speaking background. Secondary school placement for pupils from independent, interstate or overseas (English-speaking) schools is effected at the Educational Clinic at the area directorate of education appropriate to the pupil's place of residence. There are five area directorates of education (administrative areas) in the metropolitan area of New South Wales and six in the country: North Sydney, area headquarters at North Sydney; Central Metropolitan, area headquarters at Sydney; St George, area headquarters at Hurstville; Metropolitan West, area headquarters at Parramatta; Liverpool, area headquarters at Liverpool; Riverina, area headquarters at Wagga Wagga; Newcastle, area headquarters at Newcastle; North Coast, area headquarters at Lismore; West, area headquarters at Bathurst; South Coast, area headquarters at Wollongong; North-West, area headquarters at Tamworth.

Variations in geographically determined (that is, out of area) secondary school placements may occur either on completion of primary school or at any stage in the

secondary schooling if one of the following conditions operates: paternal (for son), maternal (for daughter), or brother or sister attendance at the requested school can be established, and all other assessment qualifications are met; the pupil selects a subject in an area for which he or she has a particular aptitude and need in future vocational choice and which is not available at the area secondary school (for example music, agriculture); placement in Form 5 of a pupil (through the area directorate) after gaining the School Certificate at a junior secondary high school which terminates at Form 4; retention by pupil of his or her place in a secondary school he or she attended before change of place of residence, if he or she elects to do so.

Opportunity A classes have been established to meet the needs of pupils of primary school age whose educational response indicates a mild degree of intellectual handicap. Children may be transferred to these classes from the age of 8 years with the consent of the parents, and may remain until the conclusion of their primary schooling. They transfer, where desirable, to the secondary school course for slow-learning pupils at 12 years 6 months, or later; but in cases of immature pupils, they are retained in the primary school for a further period. The classes are usually limited in size to a maximum of 22 pupils.

The activity course is provided in most secondary schools for *slow-learning pupils* who are not prepared for public examinations, but transfer to a modified or ordinary level in any subject, at the discretion of the principal. Efforts are made to provide remedial instruction in the basic subjects in which particular difficulty has been experienced.

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